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The role of the corrections teacher in juvenile rehabilitation.

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THE ROLE OF THE CORRECTIONS TEACHER IN JUVENILE REHABILITATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

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Approved as to style and content:

James Carmody, Chairman

William Greene, Member

Duane Denfeld, Member

February, 1973

To My Parents,

who also await the fulfillment

of my dream.

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To Jerry, whose understanding is responsible for much more than this document.

Prisons do affect people who live in them. They "breed crime," it appears, but they also restrain some few people and scare others. The culture of the prison with its unseen environment does these things through many of the same processes that operate in any social group. It is fundamentally a learning situation.[1]

"The genius of American penology lies in the fact that we have demonstrated that eighteenth and nineteenth century methods can be forced to work in the middle of the twentieth century."

---Hans W. Mattiek

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[1]Donald Clemmer. "Observations On Imprisonment As A Source Of Criminality," in The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Volume 41, September-October, 1950, p. 315.

FOREWORD

Within most juvenile institutions, educational programs exist which are designed to ensure that youthful inmates do not suffer educationally because of their confinement. Formal instruction commonly takes place throughout the day from 9:00 a.m. until 3:30 p.m. Attendance at these classes is usually compulsory for all inmates below the age of sixteen.

Besides the classroom programs for those who are confined entirely to the institution, there are extra rural programs which cater to those young men who are on work release programs. They are allowed to leave the grounds and work in the community, returning to the institution at the end of their work day.

The corrections teacher is the term that has been applied to the category of people who carry out these educational programs; it is with these individuals and their relation to the inmates, the institution and society that this study deals. To this end, the author has attempted to draw together much of the published research and commentary dealing with penal institutions and their role as rehabilitative centers. It is only by understanding the differences between the stated and actual goals of these institutions and their social dynamics that the reader can gain an appreciation of the importance of the corrections teacher and the task he faces in helping to facilitate the rehabilitative process.

The Role Of The Corrections Teacher
In Juvenile Rehabilitation
(1973)

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the role of the corrections teacher in juvenile institutions. Although restricted largely to juvenile offenders, it is possible to argue that adult corrections suffers from weaknesses similar to those described in the pages that follow.

Chapter I makes clear the fact that the corrections teacher is an important agent in achieving educational education and rehabilitation in correctional facilities. It also contains the definition of the major terms used throughout the study.

Chapter II discusses the teaching environment surrounding correctional education including the failure of the public schools, and the community, to meet the needs of the juvenile.

Chapter III addresses itself to the profile of the inmate. Current attitudes toward corrections are discussed as are considerations relative to the role of the police, courts, and institutionalization as they affect the offender.

Chapter IV analyzes the inmate sub-culture and its importance to correctional education. The negative impact of the sub-culture is discussed as are some current trends that may change this sub-group in

a manner that can positively affect the mission of the institutional teacher.

Chapter V contains proposals for change that can be instituted by the corrections teacher to achieve more realistic programs in penal institutions. Further, this chapter also contains suggestions that relate to community correctional endeavors involving the corrections teacher.

Chapter VI summarizes and concludes the study itself.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem And Its Background

> Something must be done and done speedily, and in the distress, the wisest are tempted to adopt violent means, to proclaim martial law, corporal punishment, mechanical arrangements, bribes, spies, wrath, main strength and ignorance. . . . And the gentle teacher, who wishes to be a Providence to youth, is grown a martinet, sore with suspicious. . . . And his love of learning is lost in the routine of grammar and books of elements.
>
> ---Ralph Waldo Emerson

Correctional institutions have been part of Western culture for approximately two centuries. In general, they are now viewed as ineffective and obsolete;[1] a view supported by endeavors to phase out total institutions as such, and replace them with community programs directly involving private citizens[2] as well as social groups.

In spite of the current de-emphasis on prisons, the "correctional system in the United States is responsible for approximately 1.3 million offenders on the average day. . . approximately one third of all offenders are in institutions with the remaining two thirds under

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[1]Milton Burdman. "Realism In Community Based Correctional Services," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 381, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1969, pp. 79-80.

[2]The State of Massachusetts, under the direction of Dr. Gerome Miller, Director of the Division of Youth Services, and the inspiration of Lawrence R. Dye, of the University of Massachusetts School of Education, has launched a "student advocate" program which may serve as the prototype to similar projects aimed at placing adjudicated delinquents in the "custody" of ordinary citizens, thereby diminishing the need for total juvenile correctional institutions.

supervision (probation and parole) in the community.[3] Ninety-five percent of all offenders are males between the ages of fifteen and thirty. Juveniles themselves comprise nearly one third of all offenders under correctional treatment, with 63,000 in institutions and 285,000 under community supervision on an average day in 1965.[4] What the corrections teacher does within the total institution is of crucial educational and social importance, not only to the inmate himself, but also to the community to which the released men will return.

The majority of those confined are under thirty-five years of age, and according to many authorities, their intelligence does not differ markedly from that of the general population.[5] More than four-fifths of the inmates between ages twenty-five and sixty-four in 1960 had not completed high school, compared to about one-half of the general population of the same age. With approximately thirty percent of all male prisoners between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, the teacher can do much not only in the way of education, but also toward socialization for this is the "crucial period when most young men are starting careers and beginning family life.[6]

In the final analysis, "the school, the university, the mental hospital, the prison. . . are thought of not merely as places to train

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[3]Martin R. Haskell and Lewis Yablonsky. Crime and Delinquency, Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally & Company, 1970, pp. 387-388.

[4]Presidents Commission of Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 1.

[5]Haskell and Yablonsky. Op. cit., pp. 388-389.

[6]Haskell and Yablonsky. Op. cit., p. 391.

or contain people, but as sources of fundamental change in attitudes, beliefs, and conceptions of themselves and their place in society. The prison is one such setting. . . . Like the school or university, socialization processes do indeed go on there whether they follow the patterns intended by the prison staff or not.[7] The corrections teacher is at the heart of this dual process of education and socialization. Not only is the teacher important relative to teaching academic skills but a sample study at the Federal Youth Correctional Institution at Ashland, Kentucky showed that "fewer Youth Correction Act Offenders enrolled in prison schools violated parole than those not enrolled."[8] The fact is that "an especially intensive educational program may. . . have been a relevant factor in. . . association of post release success with schooling."[9] Even more important, correctional education "may affect the inmates identification of himself with the more conventional segments of society and his acceptance of traditional values."[10]

Perspectives Of The Present Study

The corrections teacher has a dual responsibility: that of assisting the offender in his education, while simultaneously informing the public, including the political and social leaders, of the need for

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[7]Stanton Wheeler. "Socialization in Correctional Institutions," Crime and Justice, Volume III, by Leon Radzinowicz and Marvin E. Wolfgang, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1971, p. 97.

[8]Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, (Abridged edition). New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969, p. 189.

[9]Ibid., p. 190.

[10]Ibid.

true educational and correctional rehabilitation.[11] The teacher is involved with sentenced men as well as with the public schools "since the school. . . represents one of society's chief socializing agents. . . it is inevitable that pressure will be brought to bear on educational systems for assuming a greater responsibility for delinquency prevention while at the same time becoming more extensively involved in collaborating with correctional institutions in developing more effective rehabilitation programs through educational means."[12]

The corrections teacher will have an even greater impact on larger numbers of offenders since some studies indicate that school populations in correctional institutions will increase in the coming years as a result of the failure of existing programs and institutions to prevent large scale occurences of devient behavior.[13]

Since the offender has been placed in a correctional institution, society is in fact stating that all other forms of education and socialization have failed to meet his needs. Therefore, the success of the correction teacher's mission will make a critical difference for the future of these young men. If the instructors' effects are successful, he can be instrumental in the development of morally autonomous, self-disciplined young men who are capable of exercising independent judgment

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[11] Milton Burdman. "Realism In Community Based Correctional Services," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 38, 1969, pp. 7-8.

[12] Daniel C. Jordan and Larry Dye. Delinquency: An Assessment of the Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1970, p. 3.

[13] Eiji C. Amemiya. "The Delinquent Subculture: Population and Projections," Paul Graubard, Children Against Schools, Chicago, Illinois: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969, pp. 31-37.

and purposefulness from their own inner strength.[14] Educational rehabilitation serves as the vehicle to achieve this mission.

With these perspectives clearly in view, this study seeks to clarify the effect that institutionalization[15] has on the learning attitudes of the inmates themselves. Also, it discusses some of the social and judicial changes that are required if correctional education is ever to be considered a meaningful vehicle of rehabilitation. Further, it analyses the role of the public school and its affect on the delinquent. This study restricts itself to juvenile offenders, only occasionally referring to adult educational correctional endeavors. This is primarily because the candidate's experience has largely been concerned with institutions dealing with juvenile offenders. It is possible, however, to argue that adult corrections suffers from weaknesses similar to those described in the pages that follow and so the reader may wish to consider the proposals offered for change as being applicable to these type of institutions as well. Programs having to do with female corrections are probably different and are not mentioned in this study.

Terms Used In The Study

Structural Flaws:

Structural flaws refer to defects within the organization of the prison structure, usually having to do with its administration. They may be a gradual waning of the officers power as a result

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[14]Elmer H. Johnson. "Personnel Problems Of Corrections and The Potential Contribution Of Universities," Federal Probation, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Prisons of the U.S. Department of Justice, December, 1969, p. 3.

[15]The reader interested in further research relative to the institutional life of the inmates should consult such texts as: The Prison Community by Donald Clemmer, and Delinquency and Opportunity by Richard A. Cloward.

of compromises on his part; or it may be assuring inmates certain privileges if they cooperate on work teams. In any event, such a flaw causes a shift of power to the inmates and away from the institutional staff.

Delinquency:

There is no one definition of delinquency that is the same throughout the criminal justice system. It changes from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. In general, it is thought of as behavior that is a departure from that required by juveniles such as school attendance, obedience to parents, and obeying of curfews and other regulations. The juvenile is delinquent when his behavior becomes known to law enforcement agencies, be it the police or the courts.

Culture and Subculture:

A culture or subculture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Misdemeanor:

Typically, a misdemeanor is an offense carrying a maximum sentence of up to one year, usually in a local jail rather than a state prison. However, the definition varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.

Detention:

Detention is the temporary care of a child who has committed a delinquent act and requires custody in a physically restricting facility pending court disposition, or until the child is turned over to another jurisdiction or agency.

Intake:

Intake is essentially a screening process to determine whether the courts should take action or whether the matter concerning a suspected offender should be referred to another agency.

Juvenile Delinquent:

A juvenile delinquent is defined as a person over seven and under sixteen years of age who does any act which, if done by an adult, would constitute a crime.

Rehabilitation:

Rehabilitation is the process whereby an individual comes to understand himself, others, and his surroundings to the level of being able to see a more intelligent life style than one oriented towards negative behavior or crime.

Youth Services:

The term youth services means assistance in the prevention of juvenile delinquency or in the rehabilitation of youth who are delinquent. The process includes: education, counseling, diagnostic services, half-way houses, drug information centers, probation and parole as well as community based treatment programs or rehabilitative facilities.

Community:

A community is a group of people taking action together in order to attain a common or shared objective. It can be religious, ethnic, professional, or informal in nature but its goals are known to everyone in the group.

Half-Way House:

This is a place where ex-inmates, usually young people ages nineteen to twenty-eight, are sent after serving a portion of their sentence in a correctional institution. In some instances they are sentenced to the half-way house for the sole purpose of allowing them some natural involvement with the community.

Advocacy:

To be an advocate of an offender or ex-offender is to take a personal interest in his educational and social future as a member of his community. In one instance being developed at the University of Massachusetts under the direction of the School of Education, the ex-offender is "adopted" by an advocate for a period of time and a parent role generates from this arrangement.

Maintenance:

Maintenance refers to all those activities within a formal institution concerned with getting the organization through another day, usually with no innovations or unique programs aimed at rehabilitation--merely routine.

Treatment:

Treatment has to do with those activities intended to cause the offender to become self-motivated toward positive personal and social goals, thereby reducing the chances of recidivism while developing a positive image of himself.

Criminal Justice System:

This term refers to the police, the courts, juvenile and adult correctional institutions and community correctional endeavors.

Rehabilitation:

Rehabilitation implies the re-establishment of a former state; but for most of the men in correctional institutions, there are few prior periods of their lives that are educationally or socially acceptable to which to return. Therefore, rehabilitation in this study means helping the offender attain a basic kind of education, socialization, and self-image that will make it possible for him to live in society in a productive manner.

Corrections Teacher:

A corrections teacher can be a professional or para-professional man or woman:

1. Professional: A man or woman with a college degree who knows and understands: (a) the educational and social background of the inmates themselves; (b) the environment in which the inmate has been placed--the institution itself. He or she can achieve the former through realistic training in professional courses and working with inner city young people. The latter can be achieved through in-service training in a correctional facility itself.

2. Para-professional: A para-professional is a man or woman from the social, ethnic and economic community that most nearly reflects the inmates themselves. This individual does not possess a professional teaching certificate but has been selected by the other teachers and the community people

themselves for his or her ability to relate to and assist the inmates in their educational pursuits.[16]

Recidivist:

A term applied to a person who is returned to a correctional institution for having committed a crime or in many instances for breaking the rules of parole or probation.

Corrections:

This term, broadly speaking, means the removal of causes, reasons, motivations, or factors that are responsible for criminal or delinquent behavior. Sometime it is referred to as rehabilitation, reform, or treatment.

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[16]The more serious reader is directed to the Appendix of this dissertation for more information relative to the significant role that para-professionals have in identifying with and becoming part of community teaching itself. See Appendix, page 109.

CHAPTER II

SET AND SETTING IN WHICH THE CORRECTIONS TEACHER MUST WORK

Climate For Change: The Need For Education

Historically, an important element leading to the desire for education within correctional institutions was the religious reformation that emphasized reading of the bible. This encouraged literacy and a need for education in the nineteenth century, in the course of Western Civilization, "with its growing technology and the need for science, which began to worship the idol of education. Statements to the effect that the main cause of crime is lack of education, and if people were educated, they would never become involved in crime, abound in the literature of the nineteenth century."[1] Thus, conquering literacy and the need for education beyond the elementary level became major aspects of the correctional effort.

It has become the role of the corrections teacher, not only to impart knowledge, but also to transmit to guards, inmates, administrators, and the public as well, the continuity of educational and social attitudes that are affecting their lives, for in reality, "education is a quality of living that teachers transmit."[2]

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[1]Peter J. Lejins. "Content of the Curriculum and its Relevance for Correctional Practice," Criminology and Corrections Programs, Washington, D.C.: Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1968, p. 32.

[2]Charles E. Silberman. Crisis in the Classroom, New York: Vintage Books, 1971, p. 106.

It is quite apparent that "the proper educational base for personnel involved in corrections is a college or university level education."[3] The corrections teacher then, represents the result of the education system, for he not only teaches but attempts through instruction to motivate inmates to change their behavior patterns in a more positive manner.

Bureaucracy,[4] political influences[5] and public apathy all affect the correctional environment. It is the teacher who can offer some hope of real reform in a system that simultaneously has as its avowed objectives control of the offender, yet also claims the responsibility for educating him and helping him return to society with positive motivations.

The Nature Of The Problem: Social Attitudes

The crux of the educational problem relative to the rehabilitation of the inmate is in fact founded in the social attitudes of the public as well as the prison personnel. The former many times demand "that inmates. . . be kept securely caged, and those who wish to maintain their employment must take heed of this mandate. Most prison

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[3]Lejins. Op. cit., p. 28.

[4]The effective political pressures favoring such programs (correctional or court reform) are negligible, the political groups opposing them are powerful. Struggle for Justice, A Report of Crime and Punishment in America, prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, New York: Hill and Wang, 1971, p. 11.

[5]Penal programs are inhibited by beaucratic and custodial restraints. Ibid., p. 33.

employees, in fact, share the public delusion growing out of the convict bogery and heartily devote themselves to its implementation. Those who do not share it rarely dare to divulge their dissent."[6] This attitude itself is the result of an educational process.

Most commonly the inmate is thought of as a thing, less than human.[7] The fact that the inmate may be only partially responsible for his actions as a result of some environmental, educational, or social deprivation is either ignored[8] or only tacitly recognized not only by the public but also by those charged with the reform and rehabilitation of those confined to institutions. Charles Mangel captures this attitude when he says,

> . . .few people feel any sense of outrage. I met in Chicago with a group of lawyers, judges and social workers who spent their days working with children in court. They impressed me as decent men and women. They uttered all the right words, but they spoke with a curious hallowness of feeling. As the evening wore on, I found myself being grateful that the future of my children did not depend on their concern.[9]

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[6]Harry Elmer Barnes. "A Menace to Rehabilitation," The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, Volume 2, 1965, p. 12.

[7]It is clear that our present attitudes towards criminals are characterized by a refusal to grant them the benefit of possessing human qualities. Denis Szabo, "Do Prisons Have a Future," The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, Volume 2, 1965, p. 73.

[8]As I write this, some 100,000 children are sitting in jails and jail-like institutions throughout the country. They are as young as six. Most, perhaps sixty percent, are not delinquent. They have committed no criminal actions. They are in trouble with their schools or victims of bad homes or no homes, or runaways, or emotionally disturbed, or mentally retarded, or neurologically impaired. "How To Make A Criminal Out Of A Child," by Charles Mangel, senior editor, Look Magazine, June 29, 1971, p. 53.

[9]Charles Mangel. "How To Make A Criminal Out Of A Child," Look Magazine, June 29, 1971, p. 53.

When advanced programs such as work release or furloughs are proposed, the public usually meets these measures by claiming that corrections is coddling hardened criminals. One newspaper in the country prints this message for its people:

> We suggest that the United States Supreme Court, along with other criminal-coddling courts of the land, give thought to labeling the convicted crooks, hoodlums, rapists, and murders they keep turning loose upon the public. . . . Warning! Exposure to this individual has been proved to be dangerous to health and could be fatal.[10]

The field of corrections is not alone in this attitude toward the offender. Early public school tradition was equally replete with the fear that a "proper sense of obedience and submission could not be instilled in the pupil by coddling him." This meant "coercing and compelling" the student so as to "diminish. . .vice, crime, and moral degradation."[11]

Negative School Situations Are Part Of The Problem

The inmate is expected to attest to his guilt when in reality his "criminality" in all too many instances has a great foundation in the social and educational order itself.

> Within the institution itself there are practices which support the idea that the prisoner is fully responsible for his crime. Prison treatment and custody workers alike stress that admitting one's past mistake is requisite to rehabilitation. The inmate who insists on

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[10] Charles W. Dean. "Treatment Concepts and Penology, A Sociologist's View," South Carolina Law Review, Volume 21, No. 1, Columbia, South Carolina, October 9, 1967, p. 49.

[11] Charles Silberman. Crisis in the Classroom, New York: Vintage Books, 1971, p. 60.

> his own innocence is usually considered to be one who has not learned to face reality. . .(and) is considered most evil since he will not admit his guilt.[12]

In the case of a young school truant, we force an adolescent to stay in school until his sixteenth birthday. "He must be in school whether he wants to or not. . . . There are likely to be penalties for not being there."[13] In spite of thousands of daily school dropouts in our large city schools,[14] we continue to adhere to antiquated laws that offer little hope that will truly affect all who are negatively influenced by the present school situation. We insist that today's youngsters attend school under conditions where many schools:

> . . .are failing dismally in what has always been regarded as one of their primary tasks. . .to be "the great equalizer of the conditions of men," facilitating the movement of the poor and disadvantaged into the mainstream of American economic and social life. . . . This failure is not new; it is one the United States has tolerated for over a century or more.[15]

Further, many schools are understaffed by personnel unable or unwilling to deal with the troubled youngster and many "schools simply eject kids

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[12]Charles W. Dean. "Treatment Concepts And Penology, A Sociologist's View," South Carolina Law Review, Volume 21, No. 1, 1968, p. 48.

[13]Silberman. Op. cit., p. 48.

[14]In the City of New York for the school year 1971, there will be at least 151,000 truants. A ten-year record shows:

Year	Days Absent	Total Enrollment	Average Attendance
1963-1964	19,826,540	1,015,564	89.4%
1966-1967	28,826,737	1,069,850	86.4%
1970-1971	33,607,024	1,143,853	83.5%

"The Half-Outs," New York Daily News, December 16, 1971, p. 12C.

[15]Silberman. Op. cit., pp. 53-54.

who do not learn--90,000 under sixteen walk the streets all day in New York, 60,000 in Philadelphia, 36,000 in Detroit and 53,000 in Los Angeles."[16]

Many of the "educators know far too little about those negatives (fear and violence in school, overcrowding, negative home situations) and how they affect students."[17] They know far less about the ghetto conditions that many of their students live under from day to day. Parents appear even less sympathetic and knowledgeable for they believe that maintaining order and discipline is more important than self-inquiry on the part of students,[18] so it appears they cannot be overly concerned about other factors affecting the very lives of the students themselves.

Thus, if the schools appear to be repressive and unsympathetic to the needs of many, it is not wholly the teacher's fault. "Even when teachers operate 'democratic classrooms'. . .their responsibilities bear some resemblance to those of prison guards."[19] Teachers, like prison personnel, have to survive, and this means developing certain attitudes toward their profession. Unfortunately, survival more often than not connotes routine, and for the student (in school or prison), the result is a disinterest in school and eventual drop-out for many, and for some a sentence to a reformatory or training school for violating the law. All too often this syndrome can be traced to the fact that "too many

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[16]Charles Mangel. Op. cit.

[17]Arthur Clinton (Chief of the Bureau of Attendance). "The Half-Outs," New York Daily News, December 16, 1971, p. 12C.

[18]Silberman. Op. cit., p. 145. (Quoted from a 1969 survey for Life Magazine by Louis Harris.)

[19]Silberman. Op. cit., p. 146.

young people find the formal high school program boring, uncreative, unchallenging, unsuited to their abilities, irrelevant and even uninformative."[20]

"On the basis of interviews and review of county training school materials (in Massachusetts), it appears that approximately half of the boys have been committed because of truancy, absenteeism or school behavior problems."[21]

The answer is not the dissolution of schools, but rather meaningful educational alternatives which must be offered in the elementary and secondary school as well as in the correctional institution and community program itself.

The Effects Of Modern Justice System

Another important aspect of the educator's role in corrections is an understanding of the issues that lead to conviction and eventual confinement of boys and young adults. These issues, in many instances, give us reason to examine not only the legal system itself, but also the social prescriptions of society.

> How well informed are our judges about penal conditions? For a very long time criminologists have asked that judges visit prisons. This unanimous wish, expressed by such persons as Achaffenburg von Liszt, and Ferri from the end of the nineteenth century onward has not yet been fulfilled.[22]

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[20] New York Times, Education Section, July 11, 1971, p. 7.

[21] Larry L. Dye and Arthur W. Eve. Deviancy: An Unknown Factor in Education, Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, School of Education. To be published in Controversies in Education, part of a UMass Series by W. B. Saunders, Inc., Spring, 1973.

[22] Denis Szabo. "Do Prisons Have a Future?" The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, Volume 2, 1965, p. 71.

It is a fact that "most judges refuse to visit institutions they sentence kids to. Three out of four juvenile courts have neither the diagnostic services to seek out reasons for a child's behavior nor treatment services to help a child before committing him to an institution."[23] In New York alone,

> . . .trials are obsolete. . . only one arrest in thousands ends in trial. The government no longer has the time and money to afford the luxury of presuming the innocence, nor the belief that the truest way of determining guilt is by jury trial. . . for. . . increasing crime has pushed the judicial system to the crumbling edge of chaos and collapse.[24]

When we look at the attitude of society, we find that many people are really not being "told what's going on. Everyone's so cowardly. Nobody wants to tell the public that the mini-systems proposed to clear up this mess (the failure of the criminal justice system) won't work. People are more interested in their safety than in justice."[25] It is obvious then, that "the quest for justice will necessarily be frustrated so long as we fail to recognize that criminal justice is dependent upon and largely derived from social justice."[26] The educators' role involves examination and elucidation of these attitudes as they affect the inmates he teaches and the prison and community correctional personned with whom he deals, as well as the society to which the inmate will return.

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[23]Mangel. Op. cit.

[24]James Mills. "I Have Nothing To Do With Justice," Look Magazine, Volume 70, No. 9, March 12, 1971. From an article about the judicial life of Martin Erdman, New York Legal Aid Lawyer.

[25]Mills. Ibid., p. 66.

[26]Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, The Nature of the Problem. Prepared for The American Friends Service Committee, New York: Hill and Wang, 1971, p. 13.

In all too many instances our courts have become "factories where defendants are quickly processed like so many sausages," so that "instant justice is converting our courthouses into counting houses."[27] What little "justice" there is appears to be many things to many people and not one system that equally affects everyone:

> To Blacks and other minorities, criminal law may appear as an instrument of oppression; to the poor, a barrier to perpetuate an unjust status quo; to the young, a coercer of conformity; to the middle-aged, middle class, Puritan virtues; to mid-America, a front-line defense against anarchy; to legal theorists, a delicate balancing of individual and social obligations; to politicians, an expedient means of relieving pressures to "do something" about politically insoluble problems; to social scientists, a power clash among competing interest groups; to moralists, a reaffirmation of the community's ethical values; to psychiatrists, a quasi-religious ritual that relieves the tension of moral conflict among law-abiding citizens; and to missionaries of all persuasions, a challenge to reform those who, whether from illness or perversity, have strayed from the straight path.[28]

Almost all of the aforementioned conditions are severely prejudiced by previous social, legal and judicial attitudes of some type. The attitudes and prejudices are rarely addressed objectively, although it is these subtle views that affect rehabilitation and the life of the inmate and, therefore, also affect the corrections teacher.

Reforms Not Being Achieved

It is very unlikely that the young inmate will receive the full benefit of reform measures as now constructed by correctional agencies. Present statistics demonstrate that only one person in twenty within the institution has anything to do with treatment, while the others

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[27] Ibid., p. 8.

[28] Ibid., p. 10.

perform services which are custodial in nature.[29] It is unfortunate that at present the "twin concerns of the reformers to humanize criminal justice by reducing its severity and to carry fellowship, education and service directly to the prisoners in order to counteract some of the distructiveness of imprisonment,"[30] could not be achieved. "For those who are caught up in the cycle of arrest, persecution, and 'treatment;' and those who share their cultures, the impact of the criminal justice system is profoundly disfunctional."[31] The result of the failure is a

> . . .growing cynicism and bitterness (toward authority); instead of stimulating a creative means of changing the intolerable realities of their (criminals) existence, it encourages "adjustment" to those realities. Instead of building pride and self-confidence, it tries to persuade its subjects. . . that they are sick.[32]

Contemporary penal authorities are more emphatic in their dissatisfaction with present rehabilitative endeavors. "The way things are now," according to one prominent administrator, "it is probably better for all concerned if young delinquents were not detected. Too many of them get worse in our care."[33] The national Council states that not one of the states in this country is doing the proper job of reforming and rehabilitating young boys who are in trouble.[34]

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[29]Mangel. Op. cit.

[30]Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 27.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[33]Mangel. Op. cit., Statement by Milton Lunger, former Director of the New York Division of Youth Services.

[34]Ibid.

The present failures are not based on a lack of intellectual ability in the field of corrections nor in our schools. Rather, it is founded in the attitude that prevails toward the young delinquent as well as the public school student. A practicing judge suggests to the people of his state that they "let the community that he (the delinquent) has brutalized behold him in all the splendor of his orangutan strength, his chipmunk courage and his bird brain."[35] It is precisely this "bird-brain" that is the concern of the corrections teacher.

The Corrections Teacher: A Major Factor In The Process Of Rehabilitation

Institutional staffing is improving, although slowly, and society's attitude is changing in a more positive direction toward the inmate, sadly, even more slowly. The corrections teacher must be aware that in many instances correctional administrators are uninstructed as to what is expected of them relative to educational rehabilitation, while the inmate population is equally confused in their dual role as present inmates and future citizens. The opinion of society as well as "the conditioning of present agency personnel (the guards and others) requires that new attitudes be introduced at all levels. The new attitudes must be based on theoretical concepts imported from outside the correctional agency."[36]

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[35]Lester Lobe (Judge). Delinquency Can Be Stopped, New York: McGraw and Hill, 1967, p. 123.

[36]Richard D. Lambert (ed.). The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, special editor, John P. Conrad. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1969, p. 9.

The institutional instructor must be able to relate to the particular stages of educational and social development of the offenders. He must be fully aware of the fact that in most instances the juvenile delinquent has had negative experiences in school.[37] The result of this encounter has caused the offender to become bitter toward education in general, as well as toward teachers.

The corrections teacher must be aware of the repercussions that institutionalization has upon the students. Incarceration, with its dual philosophy of punishment and rehabilitation, affects the method and meaning of teaching--usually in a very negative manner. The instructor is a specialist, since he must be able to perform his function under conditions that are not very conducive to education itself.

Further, the corrections teacher must realize that his social and economic background is often diverse from that of the students he is teaching. Most teachers are white and middle-class oriented in their methods. Therefore, he must be able to adapt (and change) his own personal attitude and materials to serve the inmates.

Finally, the teacher serves as a liaison between the released inmate and the community to which he returns. It is this after-care that further differentiates the corrections teacher from other instructors in other educational facilities.[38]

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[37]The repercussions of public school on the life of the offender is treated in Chapter III, The Inmate Profile.

[38]After care, concern of the corrections teacher for the released inmate is treated in Chapter V, Proposals for Change.

CHAPTER III

THE INMATE PROFILE: FACTORS THE CORRECTIONS TEACHER MUST KNOW FOR EFFECTIVE EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION

> Something is amiss in this country. We have become a nation that cannot deal with its young. Not only is it the case that delinquency rates continue to soar but even more problematic, the institutions that have been created to prevent and control juvenile delinquency are apparently overwhelmed and unable to deal effectively with the problem. However essential their tasks may be, and despite their contributions to community functioning, it is reasonable from the evidence to conclude that our correctional agencies (juvenile courts, probation departments, institutions, and parole services) are not "correcting" youth in trouble.[1]

In spite of the failure of institutions to rehabilitate offenders, it is a well-known fact that "it would appear that the prison will remain a significant part of the social control apparatus for most countries for many years to come."[2] The corrections teacher is a significant member of correctional endeavors, whether they occur in formal institutions or in community-based programs. In such a position of importance the teacher must realize that

> . . .it is impossible. . . to analyze the prisons adequately without understanding the processes whereby police arrest, district attorney's prosecute, attorney's defend, and court's sentence, since these

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[1] Kenneth Polk. "Delinquency Prevention and the Youth Services Bureau," Delinquency, An Assessment of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, Daniel C. Jordan and Larry Dye, editors, Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1970, p. 87.

[2] A. F. Rutherford. "Formal Bargaining in the Prison, in Search of an Organizational Model," Yale Review, Law and Social Action, Volume 2, No. 1, New Haven, Connecticut, Fall 1971, p. 5.

decisions determine the input to prisons. Effective strategies for action can be worked out only in light of these structural interrelationships.[3]

It should be added that the corrections teacher must also be aware of the family, community, social, economic, and the school situation of the offenders with whom he comes in contact. Also, it is most essential that the instructor be aware of society's opinion relative to the inmate.

All these variables are of strategic importance to the corrections teacher. "Prison organizations have been remarkably inflexible in developing structures suited to the resolution of conflict and to the goal of inmate betterment."[4] If he is to be a catalyst in changing this pattern, the corrections teacher must be aware of the structural flaws of the institution as well as those found within the inmate's life.

Current Attitudes Towards The Offender

The Queen said:

"Here is the King's messenger. He is in prison now being punished and the trial does not even begin until next Wednesday, and of course the crime comes last of all."

"But suppose he never commits the crime," asked Alice.

"That would be all the better, wouldn't it," the Queen responded.

Alice felt that there was no denying that. "Of course it would be all the better," she said, "but it wouldn't be all the better his being punished."

"You are wrong," said the Queen. "Were you ever punished?"

"Only for faults," said Alice.

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[3]Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 159.

[4]Rutherford. Op. cit.

"And you were all the better for it I know," the Queen said triumphantly.

"Yes, but I had done the thing I was punished for," said Alice. "That makes all the difference."

"But if you hadn't done them," the Queen said, "that would have been better still, better, better, and better."

Her voice went higher with each better until it got to quite a squeak.

Alice thought, "there is a mistake somewhere."

---Through The Looking Glass
by Lewis Carroll

Yes, there is a mistake somewhere. There are several mistakes being made in many crucial areas of our society, relative to the person who falls under the veil of the criminal justice system. Presently, "the whole atmosphere is one of crisis, haste and improvisation, and trial and error and all of it has to be rationalized in order to satisfy the public."[5]

In reality, it is the public that is imprisoned concerning their lack of knowledge about the consequences and nature of the criminal justice system and imprisonment. "The judge pronounces sentence and the public feels that justice has been done. They seem to forget altogether that life goes on in prison and beyond."[6]

A more revealing fact is that the public appears little concerned with the seventy percent of the law breakers that roam free in

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[5]Hans W. Mattick. "A Discussion of the Issue," The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Volume 2, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, 1965, p. 6.

[6]Ibid.

society.[7] Society's primary concern is with the convicted and incarcerated individual. The public wants the offender securely locked up, not realizing that "most prison cruelty arises from the obsession to maintain the secure caging of convicted persons."[8] This philosophy is one that the corrections teacher must be fully aware of, as it demoralizes the convict and creates a negative background for meaningful educational pursuits within the institution.

The Reality Of Present Correctional Programs

"It would perhaps offend the general public if they were told that the genius of American penology lies in the fact that we have demonstrated that eighteenth and nineteenth century methods can be forced to work in the middle of the twentieth century."[9] The corrections teacher must be concerned with the fact that for all practical purposes "fully ninety percent of all prisons in the United States are traditional prisons."[10] The term traditional means that custody is the primary concern of the institution as well as the philosophy of its administrators. This attitude, in some instances, is not the one desired by penal administrators; but public as well as political opinion often causes rehabilitation to be the last consideration for the inmate, when in reality it should be the first.

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[7] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[8] Ibid., p. 15.

[9] Ibid., p. 7.

[10] Ibid., p. 8.

Four of the greatest minds representing criminology in the first half of the twentieth century--Sellin, Tannenbaum, Sutherland, and Barnes--are unanimous in their judgment on imprisonment, saying that it does not protect society from criminals, it does not deter them, it does not reform them, and it does not rehabilitate them.[11] Mattick goes on to say that imprisonment creates

> . . . an illusion that a serious social problem, the rehabilitation of the convicted criminal can be accomplished through the method of imprisonment. In dealing with crime and criminals, as in all fields of human endeavor, if our means are not appropriate to our ends we will accomplish nothing.[12]

A common belief is that the prison system is established "for suppressing human freedom, whatever their other rationalized aims and purposes"[13] may be. The effect of this suppression must be dealt with in a realistic manner by the corrections teacher for

> . . . the impulse to get out is increased and becomes the dominant motive of nearly every inmate. It tends to make him relatively indifferent to other experiences and stimuli in his repressed existence, even to the efforts of a treatment staff to improve his outlook and the prospects of a decent life upon release.[14]

It should be quite clear that the institutional instructor has a primary attitude to overcome relative to the inmate--that of incarceration itself. With this in mind, the teacher will not blame inmates nor think them incompetent when they seem to be occupied with getting out rather than

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[11] Ibid., p. 9.

[12] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[13] Harry Elmer Barnes. "A Menace to Rehabilitation," The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Volume 2, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, 1965, p. 13.

[14] Ibid., p. 14.

concentrating on educational pursuits. Rather, the corrections teacher will utilize this desire to instill in the inmate those positive attitudes and goals that lead to further education when released, and possibly prevent his return to the penal institution.

> Eventually, we will have to shift away from dealing with the crime to dealing with the individual who committed the crime on the basis of his psychological make-up. To do this will require considerable re-education of legal and judicial institutions as well as the public in general.[15]

However, until this "shift" occurs, the corrections teacher will have to cope realistically with those variables that affect the inmate's life. The first of those is the school system and its role in deviance and its affect upon the inmates attitude and therefore the mission of the institutional teacher.

The Public Schools Contribution To Delinquency And Its Affect On The Corrections Teacher

> The education that I propose includes all that is proper for a man, and is one in which all men who are born into their world would share. Our first wish is that all men should be educated fully to full humanity; not only one individual, nor a few, nor even the many, but all men together and single, young and old, rich and poor, of high and lowly birth, men and women in a world, all whose fate it is to be born human beings; so that at least the whole of the human race may become educated, men of all ages, all conditions, both sexes and all nations. Our second wish is that every man should be wholly educated, rightly formed not only in one single matter or on a few or even in many, but in all things which perfect human nature.
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> ---from the Great Didactic, 1632, by John Amos Comenius

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[15] Daniel C. Jordan and Larry L. Dye. Delinquency, An Assessment of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1970, p. 24.

"Available evidence strongly suggests that delinquent commitments result in part from the adverse or negative school experiences, thereby increasing rather than decreasing the chances that some youth will choose the illegitimate alternatives."[16] The tragedy is that schools can act as positive agents to relieve pressures toward delinquency, "but that potential is not now being utilized."[17] Part of the reason is that schools are not adapting to the social and economic changes within society and this failure adds to the rate of delinquency.

Many of the "turned-off" students prefer achievement outside the school setting, among friends and gangs. Often their behavior is not within the norms established by law and the wayward student, in many instances, becomes a delinquent statistic. The dropout rate nationally in 1965 was between thirty and forty percent of the total school enrollment, with most of the withdrawals from school occuring before the student was sixteen. Factually, there is ten times the incidence of delinquency among the dropouts as there are among the stay-ins.[18] This is the ex-public school student profile that the institutional teacher must realize is the background for many of his students. He should be aware of the mistakes that the public school has made so as not to duplicate them in what may be the last chance for the young inmate to "turn-on" to education.

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[16] Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency, Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 223.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 148.

In most states, the student is forced to stay in school until his sixteenth birthday. During this time he is dependent upon his parents for most of his basic needs. Naturally this impedes the formation of a responsible adult image of himself. This sense of dependence is often continued in school where there is an environment of unending subordination that combines in many instances to produce opposition and disrespect toward authority.

The corrections teacher must be aware that the school experience from which many of the inmates have just come is "increasingly segregative rather then integrative. The school grounds. . . have become virtual prison compounds, where youth are kept safely out of public sight and mind during school hours."[19] This situation is duplicated within the correctional institution and of course carried to the extreme (walls and bars). The institutional teacher must break through a barrier of formal rules[20] to reach his students. He must know his students in a personal manner.

It is of prime importance that the corrections educator avoid all occasions that might add to the frustration of his students by imposing upon them more rules or directives than necessary, thereby further stifling the initiative of the offender and possibly repeating a pattern seen in the public schools. He should avoid making his classes "joyless places. . . with oppressive and petty rules."[21]

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[19]Kenneth Polk and Walter S. Schafer. "The Changing Concept of Education," School and Delinquency, Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972, p. 4.

[20]See Appendix for institutional rules which state that relations with inmates must be on a formal basis, (see page 105)

[21]Charles E. Silberman. Crisis in the Classroom, The Re-making of American Education, New York: Vintage Books, 1971, p. 10.

The Corrections Teacher Helps Set The Learning Environment

It can be said that "our most pressing educational problem is learning how to create and maintain a human environment in our schools."[22] This is no less true for the corrections teacher, who must realize that "the most important characteristic schools share in common is a preoccupation with order and control."[23] His classes must not be an extension of those negative factors found in most schools or he will loose any opportunity to instill a desire for education in the inmates he is teaching. Rather, he must "be willing to be hurt, criticised, evaluated, and to see the truth of how others see"[24] him, in order to maintain a human and personal relationship with his students. By maintaining this approach to his teaching, those within the institution--guards, administrators, and the inmates themselves--will come to realize that the corrections teacher is making a valid commitment to educational rehabilitation.

The mission of the institutional teacher is a dual one: to help educate and to help rehabilitate those members of society who have not received the benefit of true educational or social opportunities, often times as a result of the built-in limitations of society itself. The corrections educator must fully realize that he "cannot give personal freedom. . . but he has to create an environment where people learn to

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[22] Ibid., p. 373.

[23] Ibid., p. 122.

[24] Ibid., p. 362.

make themselves free; that environment is one of trust."[25] Many of his students have been sentenced from public schools that operate with a sense of distrust,[26] from the school boards through to the classroom teacher himself. The institutional teacher must break this syndrome and acknowledge the needs and wishes of the men he teaches, thereby helping them not only to learn, but also to live with themselves as well as with others. This can only be done by creating a human environment in which they can receive meaningful education.[27] For many of the inmates as well as the correctional personnel who observe the classes, it will be a unique experience.

The Sentenced Delinquent

When there is a trangression of the law and a juvenile is apprehended, he becomes singled out for special consideration known as treatment. In reality, this youngster is no more or less guilty than his counterparts who were not arrested. Yet, his arrest (if followed by conviction) opens a whole new world to him. The offender suddenly becomes the center of a large drama of handcuffs, police vans, and eventually placement in an institution out of the sight and minds of school officials, friends, and society in general.

The convicted and sentenced juvenile will carry this personal experience with him for the rest of his life. Should he at times manage

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[25] Ibid., p. 358.

[26] Ibid., p. 133.

[27] Chapter V covers specific suggestions wherein the corrections educator can seek meaningful educational programs through suggestions and consultations with the inmates themselves.

to forget, all too often, and against established laws to the contrary, society will remind him of the deed he performed and the sentence he served, both to his detriment and eventually to society itself.[28]

The institutional instructor must confront daily accusations from the inmates who ask why are they in jail, while their friends are not.[29] The answer is perplexing for in most instances, there is none, save that which says, "you were the one to get caught and convicted." The teacher must admit that he alone cannot change the judicial nor the social system. However, by being honest and approaching such questions in a realistic fashion, he will be able to gain the confidence and respect of the inmates. When this relationship is established, then the corrections teacher can help the inmate look beyond the fact of his arrest toward the day when he will be released and again have to face society, including the judicial system. The corrections teacher can assist the offender in re-structuring his attitudes and altering his previous behavior pattern, thereby preventing his return to the institution.

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[28]All juvenile records are supposed to be destroyed when the former inmate reaches legal age. This is not always the case. In one training school known to this candidate, records have been kept for as long as sixty years and under certain conditions can be viewed by proper authorities. Also, many employers make prospective young candidates sign "releases" which give the employer the right to ask local judicial systems to release any information they have relating to the employee in question. Many times the result is no job at all because of a juvenile record.

[29]One in every nine children will be referred to the courts for an act of delinquency before his eighteenth birthday. Many are released so that the convicted individual frequently asks, "Why me?" Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 246.

The Disadvantaged Inmate: Special Considerations For The Corrections Teacher To Be Aware Of

The delinquent appears most often to be an urban male from a lower income family, non-white and non-college bound. The inmate who the corrections teacher will help is likely to be between the ages of eleven and twenty-eight without a high school diploma and likely to be labeled as being disadvantaged. Also, they feel there is no use in trying to "get ahead since there are no real rewards like getting a good job or having status."[30]

Since many of the inmates come from the inner city setting,[31] the corrections teacher should realize that they view him as a challenge to their autonomy rather than as an aid to assist them in education and socialization. The instructor then should not be personally affronted by the many and sometimes quite obvious challenges to his authority, or perhaps his personality and even his mission. In reality, the inmates are testing to see if this teacher is like "all the rest."

The Puerto Rican inmates may suddenly begin talking in Spanish, or the Blacks may decide to use a street or institutional argot that the instructor is not familiar with. None of these behavior patterns should be taken as personal insults. Rather, they must be seen for what

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[30]James S. Coleman, et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 202.

[31]"The slums are producing the highest rate of crime, vice, and financial dependence. . . (They are) sites of physical deprivation, spiritual despair and breeding grounds for cynicism. . ." The "families are failing, the schools are failing, and society is failing the slum youth. The social institutions generally relied on to guide and control people in their individual and mutual existence are not operating effectively in the inner city." Task Force Report, Juvenile Delinquency, Op. cit., pp. 42-43.

they are; a test by the men, using their own natural tools to obtain a reaction from the teacher. If the teacher can withstand these "little probes," the inmates will begin to see him as a person interested in their personal needs and their educational program.

This will come as a surprise to the offenders because they are aware that, "many educators in depressed area schools have been people without any real concern for (them). . . and with the common stereotype of them as children of low ability."[32] With one in every two students in inner city schools considered to be in the disadvantaged category, and with the present inability of the schools to cope effectively with them, the corrections teacher can look forward to institutional classes of disadvantaged youth to whom he must relate in a positive and meaningful manner. He must help the inmates reverse the indictment that "schools are equipped to run well, if not better, without them."[33]

Given this section of the inmate profile, it is not difficult to realize that the first phase of the criminal justice system to affect the life of the inmate is that of the police. Discouraged in school, labeled as a trouble-maker in the neighborhood, misunderstood by parents, the young man seeks other behavior that often is defined as deviant. The result is contact with the police of his community, a contact that is often negative and leaves after effects which condition the offender against any learning situation that may be placed before him. Thus, knowing the role of the police in the inmates' life is an important aspect of the corrections teacher's mission.

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[32]Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency, Op. cit., p. 236.

[33]Ibid., p. 155.

The Police, The Offender, And The Corrections Teacher

Often the "legalistic punitive approach comes at the problem from the wrong direction. More effective laws, police, courts and prisons. . . will not solve basic structural weakness that create youthful discontents."[34] Relative to the police, all too often the problem is approached from the wrong direction which ultimately leads to arrest and finally confinement in an institution for many juveniles.

There are approximately four hundred and twenty thousand police in over forty thousand separate agencies throughout the nation[35] who are charged with maintaining law and order among the people. "Americans entrust the problem of crime to the police,"[36] but the police cannot solve the inherent problems of schools that are not educating the young, and parents who are failing in their primary task of raising children to be conscious not only of the law, but of other people's rights.

In most police work, the use of discretion is probably the most controversial of their powers--when to arrest, when to allow for the posting of bail, or when to merely advise a potential law-breaker rather than detain him. Herein lies the area where the corrections teacher becomes involved in inmate discussions that can lead either to further alienation of the offender, or to a better understanding of those aspects of the criminal justice system which are fair as well as those which are blatently unjust.

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[34]Polk and Schafer. Op. cit., p. 7.

[35]Task Force Report: The Police, Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 1.

[36]Ibid., p. 2.

It is an established fact that many of the juveniles who come under the veil of police attention are viewed by the officers as being different from the rest of society. The officer may have a personally negative attitude toward long hair or some other feature of dress,[37] or deportment particular to one individual. More seriously, some officers may have prejudices which are obvious in their arrest quotas toward certain racial and ethnic groups. Therefore, because of these preconceptions and owing to "inadequate training, officers bring many juveniles before the courts unnecessarily when other actions would have served better in particular cases."[38]

Although the police have a good rating among the general public, other members of society such as the Blacks have negative opinions of the effectiveness of the police.[39] Studies show that the Black race is not alone in their feelings for many Latin Americans tend to "look upon the police as enemies who protect only the white power structure."[40] In the case of many juveniles, the feeling toward the police is not much more encouraging. A good percentage believe that the "police accuse you of things you didn't do,"[41] while an even greater percentage agree that "police try to act big shot," and "police try to get smart with you when you ask a question."[42]

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[37]Many police pick up white as well as Black youths merely because they do not like their walk or perhaps their hairdo. Task Force Report: The Police, Op. cit., p. 184.

[38]Ibid., p. 96.

[39]Ibid., p. 146.

[40]Ibid., p. 149.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

Coupled with the aforementioned areas of delicate relationships is the fact that juveniles would like the police to respect their autonomy while the police desire what they consider as respectful behavior from the youth. Many officers of the law simply do not realize that the autonomy and attitudes of the youths in question, especially those designated as being from the lower social and economic segments of society, have been a way of life for them which they are not about to give up in one meeting with a policeman.

The corrections teacher is obliged to know these facts as they pertain to policemen, otherwise he will be attempting to instill in the adjudicated delinquent, that he is teaching, factors that the inmate knows to be false. It is simply not true that most of our officers are doing the best possible job when it comes to dealing with juveniles and the law. The police could do much more toward allowing for the exuberance of youth in understanding and tolerating their shallow walk, their "peculiar" hair and beard styles, and their desire to meet in groups to just rap with one another. More, the police could refrain from name calling such as "hippie," "queer," and "freak," as well as desist in using racial and ethnic epithets such as "coon," "boy," and "spic," when dealing with members of minority or group cultures.[43] In many instances, these demeaning remarks lead to confrontations with groups of youth with the result that negative reinforcement of attitudes toward the police are certainly imminent.

The corrections teacher must be informed of the events occurring in the community whether through personal experience or through research

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[43] Ibid., p. 180.

and study. He must not be naive and think that all men who are institutionalized are worthy of being there. "The number of juveniles detained for minor offenses is shocking. In 1958, eight thousand four hundred were held for such minor offenses as curfew violations, truancy, traffic violations, disturbing the peace, and minor liquor violations."[44] Progress is being made on the part of our officials toward a better understanding of the actions of the young in our society. Unfortunately,

> . . . it is not nearly fast enough. Impatience, frustration, and. . . violence are growing quickly in minority communities and these trends are likely to accelerate. Consequently, if the problem is not to get worse, to the serious detriment of both the police and the community, drastic and creative action is urgently needed.[45]

The Courts: Their Impact On The Offender

The area in need of the most drastic and creative action relative to the offender is that of the criminal courts.[46] Perhaps this aspect of the criminal justice system is under more public and professional attack than any of the other segments of the justice system.[47] The results of what the courts do, especially what they do poorly, greatly affect the institutional teacher. The inmate wants to know why he has been incarcerated when so many others go free, or perhaps why the court

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[44]Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency, Op. cit., p. 36. (In 1965, two-thirds of all juveniles apprehended were admitted to detention facilities. These, most probably from the statistics above, were for minor offenses.)

[45]Task Force Report: The Police, Op. cit., p. 207.

[46]Yale Review of Law and Social Action, Volume 2, No. 1, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Law School, Fall 1971, p. 20.

[47]Juvenile courts do not appear to have the preventing effects their founders anticipated. One third of all delinquent cases involved repeaters in 1964. Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency, Op. cit., p. 23.

chose confinement[48] rather than some other more conservative method of punishment. These questions must be dealt with since they weigh heavily on the minds of the inmates and therefore cannot be ignored by the institutional teacher.

The public views the courtroom as the bastion of our legal system where the guilty are punished and the innocent are certainly vindicated. Yet, the "dignity of the courtroom, the respectable front for the sordid practice of the criminal justice system strikes many observers as particularly offensive."[49] The blatent offenses are many, but only a few need be sighted to make the point of how badly the courts administer justice at present.

A court watching research project in Chester, Pennsylvania found that seventy-five percent of those brought before the bench were Black or Puerto Rican. More than half the Black defendants spent one to two weeks in jail prior to trial, no white more than a week. Half of the jail population were there because of their inability to post bail. More, no whites paid a fine of more than one hundred dollars, but ten percent of the Blacks did. Two-thirds of all defendants were not represented by an attorney.[50]

With such statistics as these, it is impossible for the corrections teacher not to admit that at least some, if not many of the men he

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[48]"I don't say this prison is good or bad," state many offenders, "I just don't see what it has to do at all with my crime." Donald Cressey, The Prison, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 108. From the article by Johan Galtung, "Prison: The Organization of Dilemma."

[49]Yale Review of Law and Social Action, Op. cit.

[50]Ibid.

will be teaching are bitter about the "justice" they received at the hands of the court. All too often,

> . . . the criminal trial has the function of public edification rather than that of the welfare of the individual wrong-doers who pass over its stage in endless procession. In fixed formula and procedure, the trial reiterates the moral parables of our child-rearing and, in the person of the judge, brings to the transgressor a power and punitive enforcement once exercised by the parent.[51]

In some instances, if the defendant should decide on a trial by jury rather than the usual plea bargaining,[52] he may receive the wrath of one judge who stated, "if that man's convicted by a jury, I'll give him twenty years. You take some of my time, I'll take some of his."[53] This then is the setting for much of the justice that will be dealt to the accused defendant when he appears before many courts of the nation.

This is also the inmate that the corrections teacher must face a mere few days after he is found guilty and sentenced to an institution. Without an understanding of the court procedures and the failures of these bodies, the institutional teacher will hold an unrealistic view of how the inmate came to be sentenced and lose an effective part of the teachers role in corrections--that of knowing the inmate, his offense, and resultant sentence.

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[51] Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 60.

[52] Plea-bargaining, a process whereby the accused will enter a plea of guilty in exchange for a favorable sentence recommendation by the prosecutor. Approximately ninety percent of the pleas of guilt account for all convictions. Task Force Report, The Courts, Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 9.

[53] Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 138.

The Law As A Teacher: How It Should Assist The Correctional Instructor

The law is supposed to help shape the values of society, the very values that the corrections teacher is attempting to instill through his efforts in educating the inmates. This mission, of the law, affects the moral values and ethical tone of society itself. Therefore, the way in which the laws function (procedual due process, the court proceedings) is as important as the substance of the law itself. More succinctly, "the kinds of legal procedures the society develops shapes the goals and values and indeed the whole character and ethos of the society."[54] The existing system, then, has little to say for itself in the eyes of many who fall under its jurisdiction.

The properly informed corrections teacher cannot, must not, begin to defend the judicial structure under its present modus operandi. Rather, he should be able to relate to the inmates what the system must become if we are to truly say that we are democratic which in truth is saying that he would teach what the law should be and how it can be made to affect everyone in society equally. The inmates, young and old, can relate to this message for they are in fact beginning to turn the wheels of the justice system themselves in a direction that is more equitable.[55]

The corrections teacher is not alone in his teaching mission. There are those calling for the main actors in the courts, the lawyers themselves, to enter into the teaching of the public if they "are to

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[54]Silberman. Op. cit., p. 42.

[55]See Chapter IV where changes in correctional institutions are being wrought by the inmates themselves.

regard themselves, and to act as educators."[56] Through proper adjudication, as a result of good and dedicated legal defense, changes can be wrought in the legal system to benefit our citizens. It is the role of the attorney to seek general revisions in the very concepts of what is socially and legally acceptable in society, for "clearly new (and) legal concepts and processes are necessary if the poor, and in many cases the middle classes, are to secure justice."[57]

With this change, the very character of our society can be transformed, for courts can begin to re-define and re-structure those activities and attitudes that lead people to define such items as delinquency.

> Particularly with youth, it is important to use discretion in determining the difference between behavior which is dangerous enough to require action and that which is not harmful, even though it may be different from the norm which adults hold for youth. Such behavior can be stifled only at the expense of creativity, liberty, and individual initiative. Delinquency prevention cannot be a cover for the undue enforcement of conformity.[58]

We cannot value individualism and non-conformity without expecting some of the actions that flow from it to be manifested in ways we may not be familiar with and therefore do not readily accept.

Yet if the courts, through proper judicial proceedings, help society realize that the disadvantaged, the poor, and those who are new to our nation, may lack the "proper" access to established ways of acting, then we as a people can begin to create a new society, one based on justice for all. This is the message that the teacher can convey to his classes, not a false impression that our legal system is operating at

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[56] Silberman. Op. cit.

[57] Ibid., p. 45.

[58] Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 354.

its best. Rather, he can begin to show that there is much to be done, and the inmate, properly equipped with the educational tools, can begin to make a significant difference in the way he and others will be treated by the courts. It cannot be denied that the courts are changing and that the change is a result of the expanding education of the people.[59]

The Effects Of Institutionalization

Almost all institutions shut the confined person off from society through some type of restraint, be it physical with concrete walls and bars, or psychological through the threat of a longer sentence should the inmate of a minimum security installation decide to run.

Erving Goffman has stressed that any group of persons who are confined develop a life pattern of their own. One way to learn of this life pattern is to subject oneself to it on a daily basis.[60] This candidate was able to conduct such a study as a result of his employment in various correctional institutions. Some of the material presented in this section of the study is a result of observations made while employed as a corrections teacher in medium as well as maximum security installations.

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[59]The serious reader should consider further research into the case of: In Re Gault, decided on May 15, 1967 by the Supreme Court of The United States. In this decision, the court rejected the principle that the right of the child is not to liberty but to custody. The substance of (1) notice, (2) right of counsel, (3) privilege against self-incrimination, all apply to a juvenile as a result of this court decision. The juvenile now has the sum protection of criminal court procedures. For a good introductory discussion of this case, see: Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Op. cit.

[60]Erving Goffman. Asylums, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, 1961, p. x.

The psychological affects of institutionalization are important to the educator because behavior of the inmates, in most instances, is not what it would be on the "outside." Their conduct is that which they must assume in order to protect themselves from invasion of every type. If one can imagine an institution as a fish tank, it will facilitate the analogy being presented here. Everyone can see into your every action at each moment of the day and night. A common event, such as going to the bathroom, becomes a communal event since it is done in the presence of other residents of the institution; in the case of those in administrative segregation,[61] bathroom functions are under the direct scrutiny of a guard. Privacy is a word that has been left behind in civilian life, not to be experienced until back in society again.[62]

All inmates are treated like the others; they all eat, sleep, and even shower as a unit, as one common person.

> On the outside, the individual can hold objects of self-feeling, such as his body, his immediate actions, his thoughts, and some of his possessions, clear of contact with alien and contaminating things. But in the total institution, these territories of the self are violated; the boundary that the individual places between his being and the environment is invaded and the embodiment of self-profaned.[63]

In one maximum security installation in the state of Connecticut for offenders eighteen years of age to twenty-one, there is a tier of four hundred cells with hidden cat walks behind them. Each cell has a

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[61]Administrative segregation is a term designating the solitary lock-up of an individual whether for his own protection from the rest of the inmates, or because of a serious infraction of the rules. It is ordered by the administrator of the corrections facility at his discretion.

[62]Some correctional facilities throughout the country are making an effort to enclose sleeping quarters so as to give the inmate some sense of privacy for some time during the day.

[63]Goffman. Op. cit., p. 23.

peephole that can be used by the guards without the inmate knowing he is being observed. This candidate knows that these methods of observation were in use until 1969. The corrections educator must always be aware of this most paramount invasion of the personal privacy of each inmate; giving them a sense of their own individual worth becomes increasingly difficult when teacher and pupil can share almost no personal experiences inside or outside of the classroom.

Most of the classrooms in institutions (although there is a slight trend to become more liberal)[64] are built around security precautions. They have doors that cannot be permanently locked or secured for any length of time. Also, the area is open to inspection by the guards at any time, again giving the inmate a sense of being guarded and watched at all times. Thus, the challenge is a great one for the corrections teacher, for while he must be patient and wait for institutional rules to allow for physical solitude for his students, he must construct educational programs that will allow the inmate some sense of his own personal worth.

Once again, the corrections teacher plays a dual role within the institution, for through his educational presentation he shows the inmates that we (teachers) are "concerned whether they come out soured and embittered against society for having placed them there, or full of hope and new courage for the future because we have offered them ample opportunity to improve their condition during incarceration."[65]

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[64]See Chapter IV which discusses the changes that are being made in some correctional institutions.

[65]Kenyon J. Scudder. "The Open Institution," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 293, Philadelphia, Pa.: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1954, p. 79.

The corrections teacher must abandon completely any concept of treating the inmate in a punitive manner; and invading his personal privacy is one way to punish an inmate. There are enough measures taken against the inmate, for it is a fact that "many school systems and corrections agencies for juvenile delinquents are among the most punitive of public agencies when it comes to their treatment of deviant behavior."[66] Assistance must be given to the inmate and this

> . . . help must be defined from the viewpoint of the person in need. The reason a person in need turns his back on help is by and large, that the services offered are shabby substitutes for help. When real services are available, those in need literally line up at the door.[67]

The corrections teacher does offer real assistance and can begin to make a significant difference in the life of the inmate through these services. One of those real aids is presenting the inmates with life as it is and accepting them as intelligent young men who know that they are not living in the most just of all possible worlds, for the

> . . . chronic deficiencies of the criminal justice system assumes alarming proportions at a time of escalating challenge to the legitimacy of the American power structure. . . for those who are caught in the cycle of arrest, prosecution, and treatment, and those who share their cultures, the impact of the criminal justice system is profoundly dysfunctional. Instead of encouraging initiative, it compells submissiveness. Instead of strengthening belief in the legitimacy of authority, it generates cynicism and bitterness.[68]

Coupled with the psychological ramifications of imprisonment is the appalling fact that "in twenty-three states, our prisons are from

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[66]Larry L. Dye and Arthur W. Eve. Deviancy: An Unknown Factor in Education, Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, December 15, 1971.

[67]Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 98.

[68]Ibid.

seventy to one hundred and ten years old and should have been torn down long ago and replaced by another type of prison."[69] Thus, the physical plant itself is a further hinderance to the mission of the corrections teacher. In many instances, programs are impeded and time is lost because physical accommodations are not adequate. However, these difficulties have been overcome in some institutions and they can serve as a model for those others plagued by similar deficiencies relative to space and programming for educational endeavors.[70]

Yet it is completely unfair and unrealistic for those in the field of correctional education not to realize that

> . . . if there are structurally defined problems in the way institutions relate to young people, and if these problems are part of the processes that create youthful deviance, then it is these institutions which must be corrected, not the young who are its casualties.[71]

Many correctional facilities must be reorganized in order to provide positive programs for their residents. It is no longer fashionable to do nothing about antiquated physical plants and inadequate institutional staffing that will not allow for true educational rehabilitation. We have run out of valid excuses!

Society's Role In Punishment Of The Offender

Although each and every individual member of society is not physically present within correctional institutions, most have a role

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[69] Scudder. Op. cit., p. 79.

[70] The Connecticut Reformatory has overcome the problem of inadequate physical accommodations by following federal designs for institutions recently being built that include educational facilities.

[71] Polk and Schafer. Op. cit., p. 7.

to play in what happens to the offender; a role that is often pathetically played when the offender is released and all too often becomes the object of disdain or ridicule. The depersonalization that he felt in the institution is multiplied a hundredfold, for now the public excludes the inmate when he is most in need of assistance, if he is not to become a recidivist.

The institutional teacher has to be aware of the treatment awaiting the inmate when he is released, for the inmates will constantly ask him how they are to utilize the educational assistance given them while incarcerated. The answers are neither many nor simplistic, but there are answers and the teacher is responsible for this aspect of the inmates life. In short, the corrections teacher has to be able to answer the question: "Education for what?"[72]

"The quest for justice will be frustrated so long as we fail to recognize that criminal justice is dependent upon and largely derived from social justice."[73] This being the fact, it is readily seen that the duties and responsibilities of correctional officials are defined for them in terms of the conventional beliefs concerning criminal behavior. The objectives and practices of correctional institutions are largely reflections of beliefs and values that are indigenous to the broader community.[74] Unfortunately, but "according to available evidence,

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[72]Chapter IV of this paper addresses itself to the manner in which the corrections teacher is responsible for helping the ex-inmate utilize his education after his incarceration.

[73]Struggle for Justice, A Report on Crime and Punishment in America, Op. cit., p. 13.

[74]Clarence Schrag. "Some Foundations for a Theory of Corrections," Donald Cressey, The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 331.

the foremost responsibilities assigned to prison officials are maintenance of custodial security and protection of society against convicted offenders."[75] These roles are assigned to the officials by society itself.

Thus, it should be quite clear that the corrections educator has quite a responsibility: he must assist the inmate in basic educational pursuits, and he must also direct his efforts at changing the public's punitive attitude toward the inmate. Without such a change, corrections and the positive changes that may happen to an inmate are in the ultimate analysis doomed to failure. The image that society has toward the offender is changing slowly in a positive direction, but "a systematic and convincing rationale for the use of modern methods of therapy has not yet made its way very effectively into the philosophy of correctional administration."[76]

A Process For Prisons To Achieve Rehabilitation

"The principle of rehabilitation is (being) served simultaneously with the principles of the prevention of crime. One wonders, therefore, if under present circumstances. . . the principles are not in essence contradictory."[77] This appears so because in many instances, "chaplains, teachers, caseworkers, physicians. . . either share the repressive

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., p. 335.

[77] Denis Szabo. "Do Prisons Have a Future?" The Future of Imprisonment in a Free Society, Volume 2, Chicago, Illinois: St. Leonard House, 1965, p. 72.

orientation of the custodial staff or are relatively isolated and uninfluential."[78] The corrections teacher must not become custody oriented, for presently, in spite of the emphasis on treatment and education, only a limited number of inmates are benefiting from these endeavors. This is due to the fact that custodial staff are much more numerous than correctional personnel who make most of the day-to-day decisions pertaining to inmate management.[79]

Therefore, the corrections teacher is educating not only the inmates but the staff as well, in his goal of educational treatment and rehabilitation.[80] The punitive approach toward corrections has failed. Being vindictive toward the inmate creates a distance between the staff and offenders that "merely reinforces the idea of many criminals and delinquents that law and authority are ranged against them."[81]

Sykes writes that many prison administrators state that inmates are placed in institutions to accomplish better things than punishment.[82] Yet, many in corrections seek to present the prison to the public

> . . . as a rational organization designed consciously, through and through, as an effective machine for producing a few officially avowed and officially approved ends: one frequent objective being the reformation of inmates in the direction of some ideal standard.

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[78] Task Force Report on Corrections, Op. cit., p. 47.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Staff involvement with the corrections teacher is discussed in Chapter IV.

[81] Task Force Report on Corrections, Op. cit.

[82] Gresham M. Sykes. The Society of Captives, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958, p. 32. (First appeared in the 1971 edition.)

> The contradiction between what the institution does and what its official must say it does. . .[83]

is at the heart of the correctional dilemma today, and the corrections teacher is very much a part of this struggle.

We conclude knowing that "somehow prisons do not belong to social reality,"[84] yet, we know that prisoners "will continue to be confined in large groups under conditions of relative deprivation for some time to come, regardless of the consequences."[85] The corrections teacher within these institutions knows the enemy, and the enemy is an overriding punitative philosophy grounded in society and personified in most instances by institutional personnel. In most instances, "institutional corrections suffers. . . from long and indiscriminate use simply for punishment and banishment purposes, which inspire in the system little imagination, hope, or effort to improve."[86]

The result is catastrophic for the inmate, as imprisonment

> . . . denies autonomy, degrades dignity, impairs or destroys self-reliance, inculcates authoritarian values, minimizes the likelihood of beneficial interaction with ones peers, fractures families, destroys the family's economic stability, and prejudices the prisoners future prospects for any improvement in his economic and social status.[87]

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[83]Erving Goffman. "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions, Staff-Inmate Relations," Donald Cressey, The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 68.

[84]Johan Galtung. "Prison: The Organization of Dilemma," Donald R. Cressey, The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 144.

[85]Gresham Sykes. The Society of Captives, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971, p. 132.

[86]Task Force Report on Corrections, Op. cit., p. 45.

[87]Polk and Schafer. Op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

THE INMATE SUB-CULTURE AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION

Sub-Cultures In Public Schools: Their Affect On The Young Offender

The corrections teacher should be aware that the inmate sub-culture has a counterpart in free society. It is in the public schools that the concept of the sub-group receives not only strong support but may be considered the point of origin for attitudes that will later carry over into the correctional community. More likely, the young men in training schools and reformatories, now termed delinquent, once accepted the standards of right and wrong and even complied with the necessity of obeying rules such as attending school. However, "failure in school and mistreatment at home have turned them either into members of sub-groups or into defeated apathetic individuals."[1] It is these defeated individuals who are entrusted to the corrections teacher to educate.

Once driven into the role of the delinquent, they assume the posture society gives them and as Erikson states, using a famous line from West Side Story, "We're cruddy juvenile delinquents. So that's what we'll give 'em.'"[2]

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[1]Robert J. Havinghurst, Bernice L. Neugarten, and Jacqulin M. Falk. Society and Education, A Book of Readings, Boston, Massachusetts: Alland and Bacon, 1967, p. 265.

[2]Erick H. Erikson. The Challenge of Youth, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, p. xiii.

> Public school is "obedience school," the student is taught to accept authority without question, to respect authority simply because of its position, to obey not merely in the area of school regulations but in the area of facts and ideas as well. . . . Everything that happens is decided by someone other than the student.[3]

The corrections educator must have a firm grasp of the public school milieu since many of the juveniles committed to correctional facilities are there for truancy and/or school related problems.[4] Thus, knowing the public school environment will prevent the institutional teacher from merely duplicating the same conditions that caused the inmate-student to be "turned-off" in public school.

In the public school, "neither teacher nor pupil can legally escape from his relationship to the other. . . . Legal compulsory school attendance requirements must be met. The school then becomes a kind of compulsory imprisonment of teacher. . . and pupil."[5]

More importantly, "what schools do to both students and teachers can be understood if one realizes that in a number of respects, schools resemble. . . institutions like hospitals, armed services, and even prisons."[6] In all these, Jackson states,

> One sub-group of their clientele (the students) are involuntarily committed to the institution, whereas another sub-group (the staff) has greater freedom to leave the institution entirely. Under these circumstances, it is common for the more privileged group to guard

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[3]Charles A. Reich. The Greening of America, New York: Bantam Books, 1971, p. 144.

[4]See Appendix: Entry I, Table I on types of misbehavior in public schools, p. 99.

[5]Ruth Shonle Cavan. Juvenile Delinquency, Development, Treatment and Control, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1969, p. 286.

[6]Philip Jackson. Life in Classrooms, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, p. 31.

> the exists, either figuratively or literally. Even when teachers tolerate "democratic" classrooms, their responsibilities bear some resemblance to those of prison guards. In "progressive" prisons, as in most classrooms, the inhabitants are allowed certain freedoms but there are real limits. In both institutions, the inhabitants might be allowed to plan a Christman party, but in neither place are they allowed to plan a "break."[7]

The result of this situation is similar to that of the prison:

> To survive in schools as in other. . . institutions, the students, like the teachers, are forced to develop a variety of adaptative strategies and attitudes. (In prison, it is the formal sub-culture.) And survival--getting through and compiling a good record or avoiding a bad one--becomes the goal. It is inevitable that this be so.[8]

Reich is more emphatic about the negative affects of public schools and their similarity to incarceration when he says,

> . . . after a person has been classified by the meritocracy, he is fitted into the personal prison that each individual carries with him in the form of a role. . . . The basic process which is going on during all the years of schooling is learning how to become the kind of person society wants, instead of the kind of person one is or would like to be.[9]

Finally, he compares school to prison in that:

> The schools' power extends out into the indefinite future. For the school can make possible or thwart the prospects of a job or college education. . . . It is as if a prison had the authority to permanently maim or cripple prisoners for disobeying rules; the schools jurisdiction lasts only three or four years, but its sentences can last a lifetime.[10]

The picture that has been drawn is not a positive one for in the last analysis, it says that "school tends to be a dishonest as well as

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[7] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[8] Charles E. Silberman. Crisis in the Classroom, The Remaking of American Education, New York: Vintage Books, 1970, p. 146.

[9] Reich. Op. cit., p. 150.

[10] Ibid., p. 149.

a nervous place."[11] Certainly not all schools fit the description, but too sadly a majority of them do; and it is from this scholastic environment that many young men are sent out who become inmates in correctional institutions.

The similarities between school on the outside and the institution on the inside will continue to affect the corrections teacher as he attempts to "reach" his students. Young juveniles especially are aware that they must attend school, even while in custody. The corrections teacher must not duplicate the typical public school classroom, "a place where the division between the weak and the powerful is clearly drawn. This may sound like a harsh way to describe the separation between teacher and students, but it serves to emphasize a fact that is often overlooked or touched upon gingerly at best."[12]

The corrections educator can neither overlook this fact nor treat it gingerly for in many instances, the inmate he is to teach has accepted sentence rather than attend public school. Unless the institutional educator can tap new sources of awareness and attitudes within the inmate-student, the youth will continue to reject school even when faced with the threat of solitary confinement for not going to class.

Force will not further the cause of education, within or without a correctional setting. Karl Menninger says that punishment aggravates crime[13] and the institutional teacher should be aware of this axiom

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[11]John Holt. How Children Fail, Pitman Publishing Company, 1964, p. 170.

[12]Jackson. Op. cit., p. 9.

[13]Karl Menninger. The Crime of Punishment, New York: Viking Press, 1968, p.

before all others. Richard Ball states that punishment fails to rehabilitate because it increases frustrations while overwhelming the possibility of goal-orientation, and forces more tension reducing behavior. He is in agreement with Maier who described punishment employed in correctional institutions as the

> . . . obstinate clinging to patterns. . . resignation and apathy which "breaks" a man and reduces him to dependency. Punishment, therefore, tends to aggravate these human responses which are frequently connected with a long history of prior frustration. By providing more frustration, the institution dramatically increases pressures toward deviant behavior.[14]

Origin Of Inmate Sub-Cultures: Why This Knowledge Is Important To The Corrections Teacher

Recent studies suggest that the inmate sub-culture is not peculiar to the institution itself; that is, endemic to the prison or penal society as a whole. Rather, it is part of an existing culture that offenders bring with them upon entering the institution.[15] This is important to the corrections teacher in two vital areas: (1) He must not look upon the men he is teaching as unique criminal types; and (2) He must be constantly aware of the conditions that are external to the institution and to which the inmates must return. This will affect not only the long range educational pursuits of the inmate when he returns to society, but also have repercussions regarding the recidivist rate of those who are confined.

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[14]Richard A. Ball. "Why Punishment Fails," American Journal of Correction, Volume 31, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1969, pp. 19-21.

[15]John Irwin and Donald Cressey. "Thieves, Convicts, and the Inmate Culture," Howard Poleski, Social System Perspectives in Residential Institutions, Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1970, pp. 177-193.

Keeping these two tenets foremost in mind, the corrections teacher can make his teaching realistically oriented for the inmate who must often relate to a social environment that is itself negative regarding law and order. Giallombardo is very specific in suggesting that external conditions cause the sub-culture when he says,

> . . . the deprivations of imprisonment may provide necessary conditions for the emergence of an inmate system, but findings clearly indicate that the deprivations of imprisonment in themselves are not sufficient to account for the form that the inmate social culture assumes in the male and female prison communities. Rather, general features of American society with respect to the cultural definition and content of male and female roles are brought into the prison setting and function to determine the direction and focus of the inmate cultural systems.[16]

Cloward is even more emphatic when he says that the "content of delinquent sub-cultures is a more or less direct response to the local milieu in which it emerges, and it is the 'integrated' neighborhood we suggest that produces the. . . delinquent sub-culture."[17]

It is this environment that the inmate will return to and this is a crucial factor for the corrections teacher to be aware of in presenting any educational matter. He must ultimately be able to answer the inmates persistent question, "How will what you teach me help me in the streets?"[18]

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[16]Stanton Wheeler. "Socialization in Correctional Institutions," in "The Criminal in Confinement," Crime and Justice, edited by Leon Radzinowicz and Marvin E. Wolfgang, New York: Basic Books, p. 114.

[17]Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohilin. Delinquency and Opportunity, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960, p. 166.

[18]This question was asked by a Black inmate while this candidate was teaching at the Connecticut Reformatory in 1969. It is a question that should prevade the entire correctional-educational philosophy of any teacher for it is from the inmate himself.

Mechanics Of The Inmate Sub-Culture

It is clear that the teacher must come to know the function of the inmate sub-culture if he is to achieve any effective teaching whatso-ever. This involves knowing the jargon as well as the mechanics of the sub-group.

The cardinal "virtue" within the culture is absolute loyalty to your fellow inmate when dealing with the "man"--that is, the administration or the guard. The inmate must never "rat" (talk) to officials about the events within the institution or about other inmates. From this basic tenet flows the other secondary aspects of the code such as: never start trouble among your fellow inmates that cannot be taken care of without resort to the officials, always and under all conditions support the others against the prison officials no matter what the personal consequences, do not steal from one another, never welch on a debt, never break your word, and never weaken when faced by the corrections staff whatever the circumstances. Above all, be aware that "guards are hacks or screws and are to be treated with constant suspicion and distrust."[19]

Yet, we must be realistic in not seeing the inmate as unique in his attitude of distrust for this has been a common theme even in our public schools where Christopher Jencks has observed, "distrust is the order of the day."[20] There is no wonder then, that inmates (especially young ones) age thirteen through sixteen should feel some contempt and

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[19]Gresham Sykes and Sheldon L. Menninger. "The Inmate Social Code and Its Functions," Theoretical Studies in the Social Organization of the Prison, New York: Social Science Research Council, Pamphlet No. 15, March 1960, p. 8.

[20]Silberman. Op. cit., p. 133.

and distrust of the corrections teacher. It is a mere extension of what he felt while a student in some public school.

It is obvious that the inmate system supports values that have some basis in society.

> The teacher needs to know how aggressive or cooperative a person is, how much self-respect or self-confidence he has, how energetic and productive his work is, and what he aspires to, what he believes to be true and good, whom he loves or hates, and what beliefs and prejudices he holds. All these characteristics are highly determined by the individual group membership between people.[21]

The inmate is not only surrounded by physical constraints but he is also entrapped by the culture itself. The personification of this code is usually represented in the leaders of the culture who can destroy any educational or therapeutic objectives set forth by the professional and therefore can sabotage any meaningful education program. Whole groups of young men may be manipulated into superficial compliance with educational programs while the real objective remains control of the new teacher by the leaders of the sub-culture.

Men Who Perpetuate The Sub-Culture

The model prison leader is usually known as the "right" guy, whether in a reformatory or prison. He never takes advantage of his fellow inmates and is a courageous defender of their code. He shares his material possessions with others and never appears to be dominated by prison personnel. His shrewdness and calmness in the face of adversity appears to make him a superman. There are those who are far less

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[21]Dorwin Cartwright. "Achieving Change in People: Some Applications of Group Dynamics Theory," Human Relations, Volume 4, 1951, p. 381, cited in Donald R. Cressey, The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 8.

noble, such as the "tough" who fights almost without any provocation whatsoever or the "gorilla" who uses his strength to get what he wants. Every institution has its "merchant" who exploits his fellow inmates through the sale of goods and services while the "weak sister" is one who appears to take sides with the guards and administration. Often these influential figures put pressure on men or whole groups of men within the facility from which there is no physical escape. The educator must be aware of the manner in which physical, political, and personal leadership can and does affect the mood of the inmates and therefore affects teaching potential.

From the facts presented, it is obvious that the corrections teacher can never "play" one inmate against the other, for the inmates continue to "give strong. . . support to a system of values that has group cohesion or inmate solidarity as its theme."[22] "The inmate social system has an infinite reserve of grievances and unjustices with which to capture his (the new professional) sympathies and divert his efforts."[23] Therefore, the "efforts" of the corrections educator can be wasted if he does not clearly recognize that the inmate sub-culture can contrive to the development of negative identities and therefore to the maintenance of criminal values.

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[22]Sykes and Menninger. Op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[23]Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn. "Resocialization Within The Walls," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 293, Lancaster, Pennsylvania: May 1954, p. 96.

How The Sub-Culture Interferes With Correctional Education

It is imperative that the corrections teacher realize that the inmate sees himself as being rejected by society. Thus, they adhere to the inmate sub-culture and uphold it as "the ideal system of social interaction in which individuals are bound together by ties of mutual aid, loyalty, affections, respect (being) united firmly in their opposition to the enemy 'out group.'"[24] The teacher is a member of this "out group" and an enemy before he comes to understand the sub-culture itself. This exclusion is the aspect that interferes with positive teaching and rehabilitation, for the dominant theme of the code is a distrust of everyone, both within and outside of the institution. More important, for those who have had a history of family unrest, or have been placed in foster homes, or who have had a life of being confined in one institution after another, it can be said that their "world view. . . is distorted, stunted or incoherent. To a great extent (institutionalization) is their only world and they think almost entirely in the category of this world."[25] The inmates, especially the juvenile, is not only attempting to survive in the institution as a member of the sub-culture, but is also trying to maintain a "sense of restoration of self-respect and a sense of independence that can exist despite prior criminality (and institutionalization) present subjugation and the free community's denial of the offenders moral worthiness."[26] "In many ways, the inmate social

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[24]Sykes and Menninger. Op. cit., p. 11.

[25]John Irwin. The Felon, Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 29.

[26]Sykes and Menninger. Op. cit., p. 17.

system may be viewed as providing a way of life which enables the inmate to avoid the devastating psychological effects of internalizing and converting (this) social rejection into self-rejection."[27] The sub-culture then is a "cohesive. . . society which provides the (juvenile) with a meaningful social group with which he can identify himself and which will support him in his struggles against his condemners."[28]

With this view in mind, the juvenile becomes convinced that he cannot and should not turn to the institutional staff, including the teacher, for any assistance, as they are his enemies. There may be varying differences of opinion as to the strength of this sub-cultural attitude among inmates, but it is thought to be beyond a doubt that most "observers of the prisons are largely agreed that the inmate code is outstanding both for the passion with which it is pronounced and the almost universal allegiance accorded it."[29]

Thus, the sub-culture is one of the crucial aspects that stands in the way of rehabilitation as well as education for the juvenile inmate. The negative aspect of the juvenile sub-culture must be overcome for the educator is faced with the fact that in our federal youth centers alone, "probably ninety percent of the inmates are high school and junior high school dropouts, the great majority years behind their appropriate grade

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[27]Richard Cloward. "Social Control in Prison," Theoretical Studies in the Social Organization of the Prison, New York: Social Science Research Council, Pamphlet No. 15, March 1960, p. 21.

[28]Sykes and Menninger. Op. cit., p. 16.

[29]Cloward. Op. cit.

level."[30] If they do not continue their education or "do not get back to school with their history and handicaps, their chance for a life free of crime is slight."[31]

Recognizing Racial Ethnic Factors That Can Be Used Effectively In Correctional Education

"If criminals are to be changed, they must be assimilated into groups which emphasize values conducive to law-abiding values conducive to criminality."[32] The classroom in a correctional institution is a designated group setting and the teacher within the institution can therefore be an instrument in helping to change anti-reform and pro-criminal sub-cultures into positively motivated social action, especially through the racial-ethnic groups that are beginning to form in some correctional facilities at present.

It appears that within the Connecticut Correctional System,[33] there is a visible movement for inmates to identify with their racial or ethnic background as a new and major part of the inmate sub-cultural pattern.

This movement can also be seen in California and appears to be spreading throughout the nation in other correctional institutions. The

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[30]Ramsey Clark. Crime in America, New York: Simon and Shuster, Pocket Books, 1971, p. 194.

[31]Ibid., p. 208.

[32]Donald Cressey. "Changing Criminals, The Application of the Theory of Differential Association," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume 16, September 1955, p. 118.

[33]This candidate has been employed in the Connecticut System of Corrections for approximately three and one-half years and has personally viewed some of the racial-ethnic bonding taking place.

two minority groups that prevail in Connecticut institutions are the Blacks and the Puerto Ricans.[34] Of the Blacks, one corrections guard observed that:

> Black inmates are proud to be Black nowadays. They have a strong sense of race. . . and feel equal to the staff and officers. Officers can't get away with mistreating a Black. Blacks tend to identify with other Blacks. . . . If one Black is messed with, the entire Black population is involved.[35]

An equally important item came from a Puerto Rican guard (recently promoted to Sargeant) in one of the Connecticut Correctional facilities. He said that:

> The Puerto Ricans finally have a person on the staff who actually speaks their native language. They know that I am one of them in spite of the fact that I wear a uniform. They turn to me many times, especially when they believe their lack of English may be hurting them. Many of the visiting attorneys will ask me to translate for them and the Puerto Ricans know I am a fellow Puerto Rican and I want to help.[36]

Nor is the ethnic bonding exclusive to Connecticut. There is a growing trend in California among the two segments of Blacks and Chicanos to supplant their criminal identity with a racial-ethnic one that is positively and socially oriented.

The Mexican-Americans in California are basing their sub-cultural identity on their common Mexican culture, their sense of "machismo," meaning manhood, and their use of Spanish and Calo, which is Spanish slang.[37] Recently, the Chicanos in prison have formed activist groups

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[34]Duane Denfeld and Andrew Hopkins. "Racial-Ethnic Identification in Prisons, Right on From the Inside," A paper presented to the Eastern Sociological Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, April 1972, p. 5.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Interview by this candidate, 1969, Whalley Avenue Correctional Center, New Haven, Connecticut, with a Puerto Rican correctional officer.

[37]Irwin. Op. cit., p. 80.

such as Empleo which has as its goal a new identity based on their Mexican ancestry and their position of being disadvantaged in "white society."[38] Simultaneously, they are developing closer ties to the Negroes who have set the pace with their militant groups in prison. "This racial-ethnic militance and identification will more than likely become increasingly important in the prison social world."[39] More importantly, there "is already some indication that the identity of the Black National and that of the Chicano is becoming superordinate to the criminal identities of many Negroes and Mexican-Americans, or at least is having an impact on their criminal identities."[40]

This positive racial-ethnic identity presents a whole new educational vista for the corrections teacher. It may mean that he has to become not only fluent in Spanish, but at the least, knowledgeable about Black as well as Spanish cultural heritage. He can no longer depend on "standard" materials, but should seek the active assistance of the inmates in making material educationally interesting and germane to their particular backgrounds and needs. A teacher without this vision runs a very real risk of not relating to the men he is responsible to, and worse, not learning from them and their rich cultural heritage.

There are those, in penology, of the opinion that leaders among inmates, the "men of respect" are no longer Mafia connected gangsters or murderers, or the big time robbers. They are more likely to be in

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[38] Ibid., p. 81.

[39] Ibid., p. 82.

[40] Ibid.

the mold of George Jackson.[41] It is the correctional teacher who, through meaningful programs, can utilize these new trends in corrections,

> . . . so that group leaders evolve among those who show the most marked hospitality to anti-criminal values, attitudes and behaviors. Both reformers and those to be reformed must achieve status within the group by exhibition of pro-reform or anti-criminal values and behavior patterns.[42]

The corrections teacher can help direct the new profile of the emerging leaders in penal institutions, which is one of being

> . . . self-educated, articulate, probably a Panther or a Muslim, and unfailingly revolutionary in outlook. And he is a man capable of giving the inmate a new and immediately more dignified image of themselves as American Blacks (and Chicanos) who, as they see it, are members of a "colonized race," are "political prisoners," and have been arrested less for criminal acts than for trying to survive in a racist society.[43]

Many Blacks sense incarceration as a subtle form of repression against which they are rebelling. One Black man, in a personal letter, gives some indication of the awareness of today's inmate when he says:

> It is my contention that a Black convict's condition in prison or out of prison is one and the same thing. I mean the condition of the ghetto. And I mean physically and mentally do not change when he becomes a convict. So rehabilitation to him is giving up rather than a better way to do the things he desires for his happiness. And in becoming all that is desirable of an ex-con which is really the same thing as being a complacent Black man living in the ghetto.[44]

This is what the educator must be aware of as he begins to offer educational opportunities to incarcerated individuals. The statement voiced by the Black man above is also spoken by other individuals of

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[41]Nicholas Horrock. "The New Breed of Convict: Black, Angry, and Radical," Newsweek Feature Service, Volume 23, September 1971, p. 2.

[42]Cressey. Op. cit., p. 119.

[43]Horrock. Op. cit.

[44]Denfeld and Hopkins. Op. cit., p. 3.

our society. Justice Douglas, in a corroborating statement about men and machines has said that "man is about to be made an automation; he is identifiable only in the computer. As a person of worth and creativity, as a being with an infinite potential, he retreats and battles with the forces that make him inhuman."[45] For the corrections teacher to be unaware of such feelings or to under-estimate the intelligence and awareness of today's inmate is a crucial error; one he cannot afford to make.

Malcolm X was emphatic in his belief that the Black man in correctional institutions was becoming more aware of his social conditions, along with a growing racial awareness brought about through the revolutionary consciousness that is found within the prison confines.

More specifically, he said that "Muslim teachings. . . are converting new Muslims among Black men in prison and Black men are in prison in far greater numbers than their proportion in the population."[46] He also was dedicated to "gleaning" for he said that "no university would ask any student to devour literature as I did when this new world opened to me, of being able to read and understand."[47]

The Black men are becoming aware of the value of an education and seek to take advantage of the benefits offered in institutional courses. The educator should be aware that many of the young Blacks are revolutionary in spirit even if they adopt no formal philosophy that they

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[45]William O. Douglas. Points of Rebellion, New York: Vintage Books, 1970, p. 32.

[46]The Autobiography of Malcolm X, New York: Grove Press, 1966, p. 183.

[47]Ibid., p. 173.

can identify with. Much of this energy and feeling can be channeled by the educator who offers meaningful programs to those such as the young incarcerated Black man who wrote this poem:

> Burn mother burn,
> And let intense heat increase within you
> Your mission is to destroy not create, these
> Everlasting walls which man has built to imprison us,
> For fire is the most feared death.
> Only he can understand death. If you could of
> Only saw us. If you could of only cared. You
> Would have tried to save us, from being put away
> From home. Now we're free and your only sorrowless
> Eyes never forsaw us, burn mother burn!
> And let prisons be no more, if God said that man
> Was created equal, then why aren't we,
> Burn mother burn.[48]

Admittedly, this bonding phenomena between Mexican-Americans and Blacks is small, but it is a very positive step toward building a new sense of awareness in institutional educational philosophy. Through effective leaders who believe in the educational programs being offered, institutional educators can do much toward educational as well as social rehabilitation. Once inmates are "turned on" to meaningful educational pursuits, there is a realistic chance that they will become interested and enthusiastic to pursue other areas of reading, discussion, and education to further enhance their own personal rehabilitation.

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[48] A poem written by a Black male of eighteen years of age serving time at the Whalley Avenue Correctional Center, New Haven, Connecticut, 1969.

CHAPTER V

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

The one single factor that persists in corrections is institutionalization. Although some efforts are being made to involve the community in the rehabilitation process, the corrections teacher must accomplish most of his goals in the present penal system based on incarceration.

The institutional instructor should begin in a modest yet organized way, primarily reinforcing those skills that the offender already possesses relative to basic education: reading, writing and mathematical ability.

The feeling that the teacher conveys to the students, that of being a unique pupil, initiates the kind of environment that is essential for institutional teaching. Without it, no amount of programmed devices or superior lesson plans will initiate valid education in a penal setting.

The inmate must be made to feel that he can be successful in the task of obtaining an education, and that the institution instructor values him as a person. The men are not to be thought of as "cons," or "offenders," or even as "inmates;" a useful term is resident. The men receive enough negative treatment from many of the custodial members of the institution without the teacher becoming part of this pattern. The instructor assumes an apparently superhuman task; for all around him are reminders of the custody philosophy--bars, fences, gates, guards, and roll call. All these take away from the spirit and dignity of those

who are confined. The teacher must restore a sense of worth and dignity to the men he teaches; and this can be accomplished most effectively by deleting the normal custodial outlook found in the institution.[1]

This candidate has observed that a camaraderie, having been established by the instructor, is usually a motivating factor for the other men in the class to begin helping those who are having problems with material being presented. Thus, the positive approach to education spreads rapidly. We are not speaking of inmate teachers, but of mutual aid by fellow students in the same class.[2] There is a complete de-emphasis on any labeling of the men as anything other than students who want to learn, can learn, and are desirous of helping one another. An extension of this idea (of mutual help and learning) is to have college seniors (men and women) who are interested in the teaching profession, act as interns in the institution. In this deal setting, there is an interaction with the men who want to learn and those who are seriously considering corrections teaching as a profession.

With the establishment of the proper attitude, the institutional teacher can begin to construct a program of teaching and the best place to start is with the men themselves. The sub-culture within corrections has been shown to be the very pulse of the institution, one which is

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[1]Albert F. Nussbaum. "The Rehabilitation Myth," The American Scholar, Volume 40, No. 4, Phi Beta Kappa, Richmond, Virginia: William Byrd Press, Autumn 1971, p. 676.

[2]Daniel Glaser. "The Effectiveness of Correctional Education," The American Scholar, Volume 40, No. 4, Phi Beta Kappa, Richmond, Virginia: William Byrd Press, Autumn 1971, p. 6.

taking on the ethnic and racial trend which was shown to have a significant affect in some institutions on the attitude of residents. More specifically, the majority of residents are Black, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican. Therefore, all educational materials must be germane to the backgrounds as well as the educational needs of the students. The way to assess the interest level of the men is simply to ask them what they themselves desire to learn. Usually, the preferences they have for books and educational needs come as a surprise to a teacher who often feels that he has to construct all educational approaches himself. It has already been seen that the intellectual level of the men in institutions is equal to or not much different than those who are not institutionalized. For the corrections teacher to assume any other fact is to begin his mission on a false and negative note.

Teaching is a personal experience shared by one who wishes to learn and one who desires to teach. No such experience can take place in an environment of suspicion and mistrust. Therefore, the institutional teacher must establish, with the administrators of the institution, certain guidelines relative to the teaching environment itself. Security must be kept in mind, but must not supercede the normal limits found elsewhere in the institution. One of the basic understandings between the administration and the teaching staff is that the classroom itself is off limits to spontaneous "shake-down" procedures by the officer staff. This is a common practice in the cellblock where, without notice, cells are opened and thoroughly examined for contraband. This cannot be the situation in a classroom. The men have to feel that their class is precisely that--their class while they occupy the room.

The area chosen for instruction sets the tone of how the administration looks upon the educational mission within the institution. The corrections teacher therefore cannot settle for former storage rooms, vacated boiler rooms, or former disciplinary quarters as his "new" classroom. All the aforementioned areas carry a definite negative impact on the men. Further, to accept any of these areas is to demean any future educational pursuits of the corrections teacher. It is essential to begin with a physical settling that denotes the very positive idea that the teacher takes his vocation seriously. The surroundings of the classroom reflect his mission and attitude. The teaching environment helps the residents see their teacher as the pivotal part of a meaningful program, not just another glorified publicity stunt, signifying nothing. It cannot be stated too frequently nor too emphatically that educational programs in many institutions are mere addendum to existing paper programs that are in reality non-functional.

Influencing The Public Relative To Corrections And Education

The corrections teacher has a dual mission as was mentioned earlier. Many delinquent problems begin in public school, and therefore he must attempt to influence programs to make public education meaningful, especially at the junior and senior high school levels. This is not an impossible task, as many public school administrators request the advice and suggestions of those in correctional work.

It was previously mentioned that more and better trained teachers are necessary if we are to effectively cope with the problem of delinquency. In acting as a liaison between the institution and the school, the

corrections teacher can begin to delve into the methods that public schools can utilize to help decrease those conditions that lead to delinquency. Public education cannot continue to blame a multitude of outside factors as being responsible for delinquency when they themselves turn their backs on troublesome or difficult students, in most cases, suspending them from school. It is precisely these youngsters that become the high risk individuals prone to become involved in behavior that eventually attracts the attention of police and the courts. The corrections teacher must help the schools re-direct their programs toward effective teaching.

The institutional teacher must take his mission to the public itself. He must inform them that it is impossible for the corrections teacher to do in four or six months, (the average sentence of training schools for convicted juveniles) what the public school and family has failed to do in thirteen years--provide a total education experience for its youth. Therefore, becoming a community ombudsman is a necessary mission on the part of the institutional teacher.

It has been shown that many of universities are instituting programs with such titles as juvenile corrections, police relations, and delinquent behavior. Many corrections teachers are asked to teach these courses and this is a prime occasion for the corrections teacher to reach out, as an educator, to address the public concerning the needs and attitudes that prevail in corrections today. It has been stated that ultimate change in correctional attitudes depends on changes in society itself. The institutional teacher can be instrumental in informing the public, and therefore influencing these necessary attitudinal changes.

Community Correctional Endeavors

One area that is relatively "new" to corrections is that of community correctional endeavors.[3] Many research projects have found that offenders, eligible for supervision in the community in lieu of institutionalization, do as well in the community as they do in prison or training school.[4] There are now some serious attempts being made to use community installations in growing numbers to cope with sentenced men. Despite the fact that the recidivist rate is approximately the same for those released from formal institutions or those who have experienced community correctional programs, the latter is far less damaging to those who receive sentences, while also being far less costly than formal institutionalization.[5]

Community based correctional facilities are those that are non-institutionally oriented. There are no walls, bars, or guards. The whole emphasis is on "returning to the community its responsibility for dealing with behavior it defines as anti-social or deviant."[6] Such an

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[3]Community corrections denotes those endeavors in which the sentenced men live in homes and conduct daily programs using it as a base of operation (residential) and (non-residential) in which members leave the home and utilize community resources including work opportunities and school. Other names for the latter are group homes or half-way houses. This study does not address itself to the conventional use of probation and parole, as the individual is in the hands of another agency for his conduct in school or on the job. It is addressed to those endeavors where the individual remains part of a group in a home setting where teachers and counsellors are primarily resource people throughout the day.

[4]Eleanor Harlow, J. Robert Weber and Leslie T. Wilkins. Community Based Correctional Programs, Models and Practices, Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health for the Studies of Crime and Delinquency, p. 33.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 36.

endeavor overcomes the disadvantages of isolation which seriously affect both the young juvenile as well as the sentenced adult. An endeavor of this sort is able to draw upon the resources of the community in the total task of rehabilitation and reintegration of the offender.

A significant discussion in this study centers around the need for interaction between the police and juvenile delinquents. The institutional teacher can be a catalyst in bringing together[7] law enforcement officials and those young men in institutions, in endeavors that can lead to a better understanding of their attitudes toward one another. This is a direct proposal for change since there is an almost complete severance between officials and offenders once the accused is sentenced. Yet, society expects the same individuals to possess positive attitudes, especially toward the police, when they once again are returned to the community.

If there is no dialogue between these two factions while the individual is incarcerated, then attitudes will at the least, remain the same, and most often become even worse as a result of the negative opinions that prevail in correctional facilities pertaining to law enforcement officials. Attitudinal change and examination, encouraged by the corrections teacher, remains as much a part of teaching as the reinforcement and transmission of basic skills such as reading and mathematical ability. More often individuals are incarcerated not because of a lack of education, although this has a strong bearing on the reason for

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[7]See Appendix for a description of an experimental study conducted by the University of New Haven and this candidate in bringing delinquents and law enforcement officials together to better understand each other's behavior patterns and attitudes, page 112.

anti-social and illegal behavior, but because of their feelings and attitudes toward the law as well as those toward the officials that enforce this law.

As the offender opens his mind to consider alternatives to his behavior, he needs links with the community "if he is not to become a lost person."[8] As a result of questioning the negative behavior that led to incarceration, the community resource people such as police, juvenile officers, and judges have to make a similar commitment to re-analyze, and where needed, to alter those laws that may discriminate against the confined. Educational rehabilitation then becomes a total effort involving teacher, offender, institutional personnel and community officials.[9] Whether the corrections teacher is involved in institutional or community treatment, he must work toward the goal

> . . . whereby treatment is not seen as an isolated phenomena, separate and apart from the total institution, quite the contrary. Open communication is defined as an absolute necessity. Consequently, everyone participates. . . and power. . . is widely shared. In some settings, custodial officers might carry out counseling.[10]

We have amply seen that the community has a direct role in the rehabilitation of the offender; and the corrections teacher can be instrumental in seeing that this role is implemented by the community itself. It is not over-stressing the community's role to state that,

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[8]Ruth Shonle Cavan. Juvenile Delinquency, Third Edition, New York: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1969, p. 309.

[9]Laram T. Empey and Steven G. Lubeck. The Silver Lake Experiment, Chicago, Illinois: Adeline Publishing Company, 1971. (This text treats in detail, the attitude required by the community relative to community rehabilitation.)

[10]Ibid., p. 80.

> . . . the community provides the attitudes, the point of view, the philosophy of life, the example, the motives, the contacts, the friendships, and the incentives. No child brings those into the world. He finds them there and available for use and elaboration. The community gives the criminal his materials and habits, just as it gives the doctor, the lawyer, and the teacher and the candlestick maker theirs.[11]

Prototype Of Residential Community Corrections

The John F. Kennedy Youth Center at Morgantown, West Virginia,[12] although still in the experimental stages (begun in 1961), is serving as a model for many innovations in correctional rehabilitation relative to the young offender. Here the corrections teacher has a major role to play in the process of meaningful education and rehabilitation. This residential treatment center is one of the prototypes of the "new" community correctional endeavors.

The population of the center is composed of boys aged sixteen through twenty. The living arrangements are cottage based with each house possessing its own rehabilitative staff of cottage director, a supervisor, and counselors. The boys spend six hours a day, five days a week in school with the major emphasis being placed on differential treatment; that is, each boy proceeds at his own pace in school and works closely with the instructor to achieve maximum comprehension and advancement in educational skills. Modular curriculum or study units, programmed for each student, make possible the mastery of learning in small segments

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[11] Frank Tannenbaum. "The Professional Criminal," The Century, Volume 110, May-October, 1925, p. 577.

[12] A thorough account of this center can be found in: Differential Treatment, A Way To Begin, Morgantown, West Virginia: Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center.

which are eventually brought together by the teacher and pupil, resulting in a total learning experience.

The crux of the program at the Kennedy Center is based on treatment and training. Punishment and custody are not incorporated into the program. In addition to the teaching staff, educational specialists are on hand to consult with teachers and students to build work assignments geared to the students' abilities and needs. Although only eleven years old, the center appears to have found an alternative to the usual correctional approach based on institutionalization and punishment. The emphasis of the program is founded upon trust, among the staff and among all the members; that is, the boys themselves. There are no bars, or fences, or guards, and the students are encouraged to communicate openly with the staff and with one another on all phases of their lives and their programs. The corrections teacher in this type of setting is a major agent in each man's rehabilitation for he assists in equipping the young men with educational tools that they can use when they once again return to their communities.

Finally, the corrections teacher can be assured that his mission is a vital one not only in juvenile, but in adult corrections as well. Current estimates are that forty thousand of the four hundred thousand offenders serving sentences are presently enrolled in some type of colleg course.[13] This figure represents six to ten percent of the present prison enrollment. Further, "supporters say that prison education programs have sharply reduced recidivism."[14]

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[13]"A Scholar in New Alcatraz," New York Times, October 2, 1972, p. 1.

[14]Ibid., p. 60.

Thus, the educational correctional spectrum is a varied one; it ranges from teaching basic education to assisting men in the completion of college courses. The challenge to the corrections teacher is great, for he often finds himself simultaneously teaching long division to one individual while assisting another in the solution of a trigometric function.

Recruiting Corrections Teachers: An Easier Task

The correctional teaching profession has had a history plagued by many ills. Classes were almost always held in make-shift areas not very conducive to teaching or learning. The number of certified teachers was low, resulting in the use of inmates as instructors; abuses from this latter method being more pronounced than the benefits which flowed from it.[15] The teachers salary were so low that institutions usually recruited teachers on a part-time basis to teach two or three hours, usually in the evening. Until 1969, this was the situation in a major young adult correctional institution in the state of Connecticut, known to this author.

The above picture has changed radically in the recent past. This study has shown that many colleges and universities are now instituting courses that provide potential institutional teachers with specific training in the field of corrections. The School of Education at the

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[15] Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, New York: The Bobbs Merrill Company, abridged edition, 1969, pp. 173-193. (This gives a more complete treatment of prison educational practices and history.)

University of Massachusetts offers courses and training in the area of juvenile delinquency that are essential to anyone entering the field of juvenile corrections as a teacher.

A greater number of classes are being held in areas conducive to teaching. This author is familiar with the Connecticut Correctional Center, Cheshire, Connecticut, where the teaching area was specifically designed with such innovations as individual carrels (booths) for each student as well as "easy areas" where the residents who were not in formal class could relax with a book or magazine. Another section of the class was sound-proofed for the use of audio equipment so as not to disturb on-going instruction.

In another Connecticut institution, The Connecticut School for Boys (a totally juvenile correctional facility), experimental work is being done toward making instruction almost wholly based on seminar design. In the past, all cottages[16] went to a central school building where the boyds dispersed, each to his separate class, mixing with boys from other cottages. This system broke the sense of personal identity the individual boy had with his cottage as well as leading to problems as a result of challenges and petty differences fostered by other boys from other cottages. Currently, the institution is seeking to make each cottage educationally and socially self-contained. A modern classroom

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[16]A cottage is a self-contained unit housing approximately fifteen to twenty boys ages eleven to sixteen. The boys not only sleep here, but also eat breakfast and attend class in the building. Social workers and other youth aides come to the cottage rather than the boys having to go to them. It gives each boy a sense of identity and belonging that is crucial for any young person and more so for these boys labeled as having behavioral problems.

(hopefully the prototype that will soon be found in all the cottages) has been built with individualized instruction as its theme. The room is complete with the latest audio and visual equipment and most important, the teachers remain with the boys throughout the teaching day. There is a close sense of personal identity with the teacher who becomes an actual part of the cottage life setting and the before part of the boy's daily life itself.

The state of Connecticut has also made the correctional school educational facilities an administrative school district. Thus, the corrections teachershave principals and a superintendent of their own. In this setting, the institutional teacher is considered a full-time professional and the young men receive instruction on a full-time basis.

Changes have been made and more are needed, but the individual considering corrections teaching as a vocation has much more to work with today relative to teaching materials as well as being considered a professional in his field. He can look forward to and become part of more advanced and positive changes in this needed area.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We can conclude from this study that corrections is still in a very primitive state in spite of what is said in the media and by corrections officials. Further, most of the educational rehabilitation that the corrections teacher hopes to accomplish will be done within a penal system that is now and will be for many years to come founded on incarceration. This is primarily due to the fact that society says that it wants the offender rehabilitated but in actuality, also demands that the inmates remain securely caged.

In reality, many of those who are sentenced reflect the failure of society to provide proper education and socialization as well as economic access to those essentials in life that would prevent many individuals from seeking deviant behavior. It is in this setting that the corrections teacher reaches out to the offender with the hope of providing the educational skill and incentive as well as the guidance that the inmate may utilize when he returns to society.

The corrections teacher is a logical agent in this task of educational rehabilitation because he not only is equipped to provide the inmate with educational skills, but he can also function as a liaison between the community and the penal institution itself. Through the mission of the teacher then, the multitude of society, its schools, parents, police, and the courts, can be made aware of the changes they must initiate if corrections and rehabilitation are ever to be worthy of

their name. The profile of the corrections teacher in Chapter I showed him to be a specialist capable of understanding and achieving this special mission as teacher and ombudsman.

Public schools are not blameless for the present delinquent "problem." They are not fulfilling their mission of educating all the students, including those designated as having behavior problems as well as the slow learners. Present schools suspend students by the thousands when they are faced with the aforementioned problems. On the other hand, the boredom and irrelevancy of much of today's curriculum hardly attracts the thousands of daily school dropouts to stay in school on a consistent basis. These are the youths who in many instances turn to deviant behavior and eventually are incarcerated.

The corrections teacher must not duplicate the errors of the public schools. His teaching has to be open ended and informal if he is not to become a stereotype of what the inmate has left behind in public school. He must realize that most of the inmates are from the disadvantaged sector of society being urban male, non-white and non-college bound. He must be willing to see life as it is, relative to his students, if he is to truly help them. It has been stated that many public school officials have no idea of the living conditions that the students come from as they are white and middle class, and in some instances, not really interested in the personal backgrounds of the students.

The police were seen, in general, as being ill-trained in juvenile relations and often as the antagonists when dealing with young people on the streets. They have certain prejudices toward race as well as appearances that often cause them to act in a biased manner. This often results

in many juveniles being charged with offenses that lead to incarceration; offenses that were provoked by the police to the detriment of the youth involved.

The judicial aspect of the criminal justice system was seen to be the worst of all branches of the legal system, and in many instances, discriminate against the offender on the basis of the personality of the presiding judge or the ethnic or racial background of the accused. More tragically, most judges have no idea of the conditions that have to be endured either by the juvenile or the adults they sentence to correctional institutions; and this is in spite of all the efforts to get judges to visit penal institutions so that they may be more cautious in their sentencing procedures.

The affects of institutionalization were presented as severely damaging to the inmates. The psychological deprivation as well as the loss of privacy itself embitters many who might have been truly rehabilitated during their sentences. It was shown that the dual role of punishment and rehabilitation are incongruous and the corrections teacher must place his mission in the camp of rehabilitation alone to the exclusion of punishment.

Chapter III addressed itself to society's role in penology. There can be no criminal justice without social justice becoming a reality for all citizens. Society, as the corrections teacher must point out, bears the largest responsibility for the rehabilitation of the offender since it ultimately defines the behavior of the deviant that the judicial system upholds.

The inmate sub-culture is the very heart of any institution as was shown in Chapter IV, and it is obligatory that the corrections

teacher thoroughly understand all its functions. The sub-culture has been traditionally negative in relation to corrections as well as rehabilitation. However, we have seen that there is a current trend, however small, among Blacks and Mexican-Americans to utilize the sub-culture in a positive manner.

Further, it was emphasized that sub-cultures operate in juvenile as well as adult correctional facilities. Ignorance of its influence can jeopardize or completely ruin any educational endeavor that the corrections teacher may seek to institute. Ultimately, the corrections instructor must view the sub-culture as an extension of the culture which exists infree society, for it is an attempt on the part of the inmates to construct a society (within the walls) that can give them a sense of worthiness and a means of combatting prison administrative policies which are often bent on degradation and humiliation of the inmates. It is a defense against these realities that the sub-culture seeks to develop its own defense mechanism.

As a response to the profile that the corrections teacher must face, one which places modern correctional philosophy in the midst of the nineteenth century, Chapter V stated some proposals for change that can be made by the correctional instructor himself toward making correctional education truly educational.

The proposals were modest for most of the problems in corrections are known to the public as well as the administrators of institutions. It remains now for all the answers and solutions to be put into practice. In this endeavor, however, the public as well as the penal authorities must be aware that the corrections teacher is a vital agent not only in

rehabilitation, but in structuring programs that range beyond education alone, for teaching involves behavioral modification as much as it encompasses reinforcing academic skills.

One of the most significant proposals for change was that of community correctional endeavors such as that being conducted at the John F. Kennedy Center in Virgina. It may well be that this prototype will set the pace for future correctional endeavors throughout the nation, thereby alleviating most of the negative influences that institutionalization has on sentenced men. There is hope then, for cautious optimism, that ever so slowly, positive changes are occurring in the field of corrections. There is little room for more criticism but plenty of opportunity for the corrections teacher to become a prominent agent in the many changes that are necessary in the field of correctional education and rehabilitation.

APPENDIX

Brief History Of Corrections

> If the state of corrections is any indicator of the condition of civilization, Western man may be prospering better than he knows. We have traversed a course which began with our forefathers encouraging and taking no little pleasure from the exercise of unrestrained cruelty toward offenders. We have seen the beginnings of the modern prison as a result of a great reforming movement initiated by great American, English, and Italian philosophers and administrators. Over the two centuries which constitute the whole of modern correctional history, the prison was preverted into a place of cynical brutality. But gradually, medical, educational, and social services led to the application of social sciences to penal philosophy. All signs indicate that this trend is flourishing. . . . It is leading to a coherent correctional apparatus, focussed on the achievement of objectives rather than the management of meaningless process. Although there is much to be done, the present condition of corrections and its prospects for the future give rise to some optimism about the moral progress of man. It may well be that the worst in man's nature will bring out the best.[1]

From this optimistic statement above, one feels that indeed, corrections is well on its way toward meeting the challenge presented by those labeled as deviant. However, it is necessary to have some understanding of the past history of penology in order to fully understand current trends while simultaneously looking to future modification and adaptations of prison reform as it is and will be affected by the process of education both from within and outside its walls.

The history of modern correctional philosophy is approximately two hundred years old. This is a short duration when one considers the educational, social, humanitarian, and attitudinal changes that have occurred during this span of time. The early history of penology was

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[1]"The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Introduction by John P. Conrad, Chief of Research, Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 381, January 1969, pp. xii-xiii.

dominated by a punitative attitude that centered in the total concern for the victim to the exclusion and often times, complete degradation of the offender. Physical mutilation and torture were combined with psychological punishment (being banished from community and family, labeled as a criminal) that often times was more severe than the corporal punishment inflicted upon the offender. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a change in this attitude relative to the offender. It is in this century that imprisonment became a reality for those accused of violating the law. Society now sought retribution for an offense but was also vaguely conscious of the offender himself--conscious of him as an individual who also had certain feelings and even some rights.

Primitive Society

The basic view of dealing with the criminal remained until the nineteenth century--an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Revenge appeared to be the primary factor for the offended party coupled with some remote idea that the transgressor should be made to feel the consequences of his action so as not to commit a similar deed. With protection and revenge as the motivating factors in early society, it was not long before the concept of the Leviathan[2] began to dominate men's desire to have some recourse to protecting themselves from more powerful outside sources that sought to take what they desired, regardless of the

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[2]A political treatise by Thomas Hobbes (1651) dealing with the organization and concept of the State.

"rights" of others. Hobbes insisted that men had to have "some coercive power to compell men equally to the performance of their covenants by the terror of some punishment greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant.[3] The coercive power in reality was the State. However, the main idea behind the need for some type of government and control was one of punishment and protection. This attitude carried over into the State's feelings toward those who broke the law. That is, the people bore a punitative philosophy toward an offender and the law reflected this feeling by implementing the people's wishes through torture and physical punishment of the offender.

Early European Ideology Toward Penology

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe, there were some thirty types of death penalties perscribed for some of the slightest transgressions of the law. So common was the death sentence that in London, the home of Common Law, in January of 1801, a seventeen year-old boy was hanged for stealing a silver spoon.[4] Not only was death perscribed for many petty offenses, such as the one above, but multilation which in many instances led to death because of a lack of medical knowledge and care, was a common practice. Torture such as burning, branding, breaking on the rack, cutting out of tongues and eyes was the rule and not the exception. Between 1749 and 1771, approximately five hundred and eighty-six of the six hundred and seventy-eight

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[3]Carl Joachim Friedrich. The Philosophy of Law in Historical Perspective, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 85.

[4]Conrad. Op. cit., p. 2.

executions were for such petty crimes as breaking into homes, burglary, and horse stealing.[5] It is obvious that any reform of the then existing punitative system would have to depend on a change in social perspectives; since early penology was a mere reflection of a society that viewed punishment and even death as the only logical deterrent to crime. As the social conscience began to change, so did the attitude toward the offender. The eighteenth century saw the dawn of a transition in the area of penology, primarily because of the growing emphasis on the rights of man as well as the changing social attitudes toward those who violated the law.

Europe And Eighteenth Century Penal Reform

Casare Bonesana, Marchese di Beccaria wrote his famous Essay on Crime and Punishment in 1764. The work denounced capital punishment as well as torture and advocated prevention of crime through education. Jeremy Bentham had an equally profound influence on the English and American attitudes toward penology. His basic belief was that law should be socially useful and not merely a reflection of one power group against another. He held that men act on a pleasure pain principle and that law should award punishment and reward to maintain a just balance between the two. He was more interested in the positive aspects of the law than in its punitative measures. This was a controversial position for his time, but a step toward legal reform not yet imagined in English history.

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[5] R. Korn and L. McKorkle. "Criminology and Penology," in "Treatment Concepts and Penology--A Sociologists View" by Charles W. Dean. South Carolina Law Review, Volume 21, No. 1, 1968, p. 43.

Both Beccaria and Bentham underlie the utilitarian approach to penology that was beginning to develop in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This philosophic approach saw the criminal as one who was sick and not morally responsible for his actions and therefore in need of treatment. Thus, detention, coupled with rehabilitation, was a valid approach to penology since it protected society while simultaneously offering to re-make the criminal into a socially acceptable person. It is important to note that the English were affected by this trend toward more humane treatment of criminals, for by 1861, they had reserved the death penalty for only murder, piracy, and treason.

The American Colonies

In spite of all the social, political, economic and political reasons that inspired the early colonists to come to the New Land, they took their early English legal and penal philosophy to America. Pennsylvania was the only exception to English Law because of William Penn's view toward the treatment of those adjudged as criminals. As early as 1682, Pennsylvania had declared that only treason and murder warranted the death penalty. Penn's views were short lived and after his death in 1718, the "Great Law" was repealed and Pennsylvania joined the other colonies in imposing rigid and punitive measures against offenders--a practice that lasted until the end of the eighteenth century.

An equally pretigious name in Quaker Penal Reform was that of Elizabeth Fry. In 1816, she began not only humanitarian programs for

prisoners (food, clothing, and some relief to the overcrowding), but also by 1818 she had presented legislative and administrative reforms to the House of Lords; these included religious instruction, classification of prisoners, provision for employment, and superintendence of female inmates by women only. She also pioneered the development of post prison aid to released inmates. More important, she struck at the social view of punishment by expressing the prisoners' view that "the government was more criminal than they, for it was about to commit murder on the person of those who had only committed theft."[6] Indiana and Massachusetts opened separate facilities for women in 1870 with the expressed view of humanitarian consideration for the inmates.

Even in their Philadelphia System, the Quakers attempted to reform rather than punish the criminal. However, their philosophy of solitary confinement for each individual meant to foster mediation and penitence was in reality a more severe form of punishment. However, it was to their credit that the Quakers abolished the death penalty as early as 1794 for all crimes except first degree murder. They were also the first people to prescribe prison sentences for other crimes of magnitude. Until this time, prison was used only to house a suspected criminal until his trial. Any punishment he received during this interim waiting period was unintentional. Now, for the first time, imprisonment was to be used formally as a tool to deter further acts of anti-social behavior.[7]

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[6] Struggle for Justice, prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, New York: Hill and Wang, 1971, p. 17.

[7] Conrad. Op. cit.

The Turn Of The Century

In 1870, the Reformatory for men in Elmira, New York was officially opened. This institution had rehabilitation as one of its avowed goals and also was the first to formulate a system of parole for its inmates. The American Correctional Association formulated its Declaration of Principles during this historic year. So modern was their first declaration that it was reaffirmed and revised at their sixtieth annual congress in October of 1930. It is noteworthy that one of the thirty-seven sections drafted in 1870 stated that "punishment is suffering inflicted upon the criminal for the wrong done by him with a special view to secure his reformation."[8] The concept of punishment was still lingering as penology entered its most progressive era.

Juvenile Corrections

The concept of juvenile detention and special legal proceedings to protect young offenders began in 1825. In this year, New York established the New York House of Refuge where children were to be separated from adult offenders and given treatment instead of being punished. Massachusetts founded the reform industrial school in 1847 designed to teach boys discipline as well as a trade. By 1870, Suffolk County in Boston required the presence of an agent of the State in all cases where conviction might lead to a reformatory sentence for a juvenile. By 1892, New York established separate trials, dockets and records for anyone

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[8]Richard A. McGee. "Whats Past Is Prologue," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 381, January 1969, p. 7.

accused of a crime who was under legal age. By 1898, Rhode Island had instituted a policy of segregating children under sixteen years of age from the rest of the prison population. Also, this State instituted separate arraignments, trials, and records along with having a public and private agent in court to protect the interest of the young accused person. Illinois passed the first Juvenile Court Act, creating the first state-wide court for children in the same year.

In reality, the juvenile court was born with the hope of bringing true justice to the adolescent offender. In contemporary America, the Gault case in 1967 in Arizona made applicable all the due process privileges that apply to adult proceedings, applicable also to juvenile cases. The informality of judicial proceedings that had built up in juvenile courts since 1898 under the ideal of parens partia, was replaced with full procedural rights accorded to adults. Thus, the theoretical groundwork for true correctional reform which had begun in the latter part of the nineteenth century was to have reached full potential by the early part of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, that which was achieved in theory was not to be realized in practice. The hopes of rehabilitation and reform still remain frustrated.

The New Educational Philosophy-- Yet Something Is Still Missing

Rehabilitation at the turn of the century was founded on three basic tenets: religion, work and education. The clergy gave it little real attention while the education programs consisted largely of haphazard efforts to teach reading and writing to the inmates. The work aspect of the new found philosophy was limited largely to the prison

farm while any prison industry was geared toward making the institution less of a financial burden to the State than it was aimed at teaching the inmate to learn a trade and become self-sufficient when paroled. The "condition most characteristic of American prisons between the first and second world wars was enforced idleness, inadequate and untrained personnel, gross overcrowding, and indeed an almost complete negation of the high sounding principles enunciated by the leaders in the field of 1879." In actuality, the social attitude of the nation had not kept pace with the reformers. The truth of this is borne out by the fact that as late as 1928, prisoners were still being leased out for work while serving their sentences. In reality, this was making him a type of endentured servant.

The years from 1930 through late 1960 have seen attempts to focus on society's failure to assist in the prevention as well as the rehabilitation of those labeled as deviant. Delinquency and crime are defined by society and ultimately the whole populace of a nation bears the responsibility for rehabilitation, not merely those in the field of corrections.

With current emphasis on the community's role in corrections--new programs in probation, parole, work release, half way houses, group homes, and advocate programs--there is hope that reform of present attitudes toward the convicted offender will change in a positive direction. However, if there is to be true reform, then the nature of present society itself has to be examined. Racial and ethnic attitudes have to be analyzed. The role of the inner city and the disadvantaged have to be examined in detail to find those areas where helping young men may prevent their future behavior from becoming deviant. The role of the school, the

courts, and police all have to be analyzed relative to who is and is not to be designated as a criminal. The nature of the law itself has to be examined to see if there is too much legislation or if it descriminates against the poor and the disadvantaged. In essence, society itself has to re-examine its attitude toward the democratic creed; only then can corrections have a future--a positive one for those it is dedicated to help in their reform and rehabilitation.

TABLE No. 1.

Trends of misbehavior over a ten-year period in school districts with 2,500 or more population

1	All urban school districts—the act in 1955–1956, as compared with ten years before, is occurring—			
	2	3	4	5
Acts of misbehavior	*More frequently*	*Less frequently*	*About the same*	*No occurrence then or now*
Impertinence and discourtesy to teachers	54.9%	13.3%	27.4%	4.4%
Failing to do homework and other assignments	46.0	7.2	44.2	2.6
Destruction of school property	43.1	22.3	30.5	4.1
Drinking intoxicants	38.6	4.3	17.8	39.3
Stealing of serious nature	38.5	15.1	31.0	15.4
Using profane or obscene language	33.6	14.9	42.1	9.4
Gang fighting	27.6	13.3	18.5	40.6
Truancy	27.0	27.2	40.2	5.6
Sex offenses	27.0	7.6	35.5	29.9
Carrying switch-blade knives, guns, etc.	24.6	8.7	14.2	52.5
Cheating on tests	23.0	11.4	62.1	3.5
Cheating on homework	22.3	8.2	64.1	5.4
Lying of serious type	21.5	15.1	55.7	7.7
Using narcotics	21.3	2.8	9.3	66.6
Stealing small articles of little value	21.2	19.3	57.0	2.5
Obscene scribbling in lavatories	17.2	31.7	43.4	7.7
Unorganized fighting	15.9	24.6	50.8	8.7
Physical violence against teachers	11.7	12.8	20.1	55.4

Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior, 1955–56, Research Bulletin, Vol. 34, No. 2, April, 1956, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C., p. 55. Table 22 comprises columns 1, 10, 11, 12, 13 of Table 43 in the above source, entitled "Acts of Misbehavior now (1955–56) as Compared with Ten Years Ago, by Selected Sizes and Types of School Districts and Relative Frequency of Occurrence." Quoted with permission.

[6] *Teacher Opinion on Pupil Behavior*, 1955–56, Research Bulletin, Vol. 34, No. 2, April, 1956, National Education Association of the United States, Washington 5, D. C., p. 59.

TABLE No. 2.

Offenders in the Correctional System, 1965

Type of Program	Average Daily Population	Percentage Distribution
Juvenile corrections		
Institutions	62,773	4.9
Community	285,431	22.2
Subtotal	348,204	27.1
Adult felon corrections		
Institutions	221,597	17.3
Community	369,897	28.9
Subtotal	591,494	46.2
Misdemeanant corrections		
Institutions	141,303	11.0
Community	201,385	15.7
Subtotal	342,688	26.7
Total	1,282,386	100.0

[1] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: Corrections* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 1.

TABLE No. 3.

6. How would you rate the job law enforcement officials are doing?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	REGION				SIZE OF PLACE				RACE		Total Teenagers %
		East %	Midwest %	South %	West %	Metropolitan %	Suburbs %	Town %	Rural %	Negro %	White %	
LOCAL OFFICIALS												
Positive	68	68	70	65	69	69	71	69	62	57	70	58
Negative	32	32	30	35	31	31	29	31	38	43	30	42
(Not sure)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(6)	(7)	(5)	(4)	(7)	(7)	(10)	(5)	(2)
STATE OFFICIALS												
Positive	72	71	75	67	74	74	73	74	65	58	74	77
Negative	28	29	25	33	26	26	27	26	35	42	26	23
(Not sure)	(14)	(16)	(13)	(13)	(16)	(21)	(12)	(11)	(10)	(26)	(13)	(3)
FEDERAL OFFICIALS												
Positive	72	69	72	69	75	70	74	73	66	69	72	72
Negative	28	31	28	31	25	30	26	27	34	31	28	28
(Not sure)	(19)	(15)	(18)	(21)	(21)	(20)	(16)	(17)	(22)	(25)	(19)	(14)

The Public Looks At Crime And Corrections, A Report by Louis Harris and Associates for the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, November 1968, Washington, D.C.

Table No. 4.

6. Are most arrests fair or unfair?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	EDUCATION			REGION				RACE		Total Teen-agers %
		8th Grade %	High School %	College %	East %	Mid-west %	South %	West %	Negroes %	White %	
Fair	80	71	80	87	82	85	63	85	51	84	74
Unfair	11	16	11	6	8	7	19	10	33	8	18
Not sure	9	13	9	7	10	8	12	5	16	8	8

7. Are people waiting in jail to be tried treated fairly or not?

(Base: Total)

	Total Adults %	RACE	
		Negro %	White %
Fairly	67	32	71
Unfairly	9	29	7
Not sure	24	39	22

The Public Looks At Crime And Corrections, by Louis Harris and Associates for The Joint Commission On Correctional Manpower and Training, November 1967, Washington, D.C., p. 6.

TABLE No. 5.

3. Rating of the courts.

	Positive[1]	Negative[2]
	%	%
Total	46	54
Occupation:		
Administrator	47	53
Supervisor	43	57
Specialist	47	53
Line worker	41	59
Work setting:		
Adult institution	39	61
Juvenile institution	46	54
Adult field	48	52
Juvenile field	51	49

[1] "Excellent" plus "pretty good" responses.
[2] "Only fair" plus "poor" responses.

Corrections 1968, A Climate For Change, by Louis Harris and Associates for The Joint Commission On Correctional Manpower And Training, Washington, D.C., 1968, p. 13.

Table No.6.

Correctional Goals Most Emphasised Now.

8. Correctional goals most emphasized now.

	Total	Occupation of respondent				Work setting of respondent				Education of respondent					
		Administrator	Supervisor	Specialist	Line worker	Adult institution	Juvenile institution	Adult field	Juvenile field	Administrator			Specialist		
										No B.A.	B.A.	M.A. +	No B.A.	B.A.	M.A. +
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Adult Institutions															
Punishment	20	22	17	25	8	10	23	20	28	9	24	27	12	25	34
Rehabilitation	42	39	41	40	72	63	43	38	29	55	35	31	62	37	35
Protection of society	34	37	37	30	16	25	23	39	37	31	39	40	17	33	30
Changing society	2	*	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	*	*	7	2	*
Not sure	2	2	3	2	1	*	8	1	4	4	2	2	2	3	1
Juvenile Institutions															
Punishment	7	6	8	10	5	5	6	9	7	3	7	6	5	8	23
Rehabilitation	65	65	65	63	65	63	78	60	69	65	65	65	61	55	55
Protection of society	18	22	18	17	11	15	10	20	20	15	23	25	13	19	12
Changing society	4	3	4	5	8	7	6	3	3	8	2	2	7	4	4
Not sure	6	4	5	5	11	10	*	8	1	9	3	1	14	4	3
Adult Field															
Punishment	5	4	5	5	6	4	6	4	8	1	5	6	4	5	1
Rehabilitation	64	67	60	65	61	62	59	70	57	68	67	63	72	62	69
Protection of society	23	23	26	22	15	19	15	24	26	19	23	26	11	24	24
Changing society	5	3	6	4	12	12	7	2	3	8	2	2	6	4	4
Not sure	3	3	3	4	6	3	13	*	6	4	3	3	7	5	2
Juvenile Field															
Punishment	3	1	4	3	6	3	3	3	2	*	2	1	2	3	*
Rehabilitation	74	79	70	75	57	63	78	72	83	69	83	79	67	76	83
Protection of society	13	13	16	12	9	11	10	15	12	11	11	16	10	12	9
Changing society	5	4	5	6	13	11	8	4	3	10	2	3	5	6	7
Not sure	5	3	5	4	15	12	1	6	*	10	2	1	16	3	1

*Less than 0.5%

Corrections 1968, A Climate For Change by Louis Harris and Associates for The Joint Commission On Correctional Manpower And Training, Washington, D.C., 1968, p. 14.

Formal Institutional Rules stating that relationships with inmates must be kept on a formal and impersonal basis.

Chapter V

Relationships With Students

(5-2)

> An employee shall not indulge in undue familiarity with boys, nor shall an employee permit undue familiarity on the part of students toward an employee. Quiet but firm demeanor shall be maintained in contact with the boys. Every employee shall be firm, fair, friendly, but not familiar.[9]

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[9] Employee Handbook, Boys Training Center, South Portland, Maine, 1968.

BUDGET, 1970: Connecticut School For Boys, Meriden, Connecticut. (A minimum security Correctional Institution for young men ages ten through sixteen sentenced by the judicial courts of the state. First boy accepted 1854.)

$1,969,546	---	Budget
$1,700,046	---	Personal Services
$ 254,000	---	Other
196	---	Total Employees
$ 109,000	---	Food
$ 91,000	---	Salary/Cooks
$1,018,582	---	Custody
$ 206,862	---	General Services
$ 186,871	---	School Expenses
$ 78,957	---	Parole Services
$ 22	---	Per Month/Room and Board (staff)
$ 7,260	---	Salary Cottage Father (base pay)
$ 9,800	---	Salary Cottage Father (maximum level)

Employee Distribution

14 -- Administration

9 -- Food

26 -- General Services

8 -- Medicine

8 -- Nurses

124 -- Custody

24 -- School

7 -- Parole

New York Times - Monday, 2 October 1972 - P1

A Scholar in the New Alcatraz

By GEORGE VECSEY
Special to The New York Times

MARION, Ill., Sept. 30—Victor Taylor did not wear a cap and gown to his college graduation. He wore a white shirt and slacks instead. That is about as formal as they dress at the United States Penitentiary here, the one they call "the new Alcatraz," where the toughest Federal prisoners go.

Taylor, who is serving 61 years for armed robberies and once scaled a 40-foot prison wall in a desperate bid to escape, has completed a normal four years of college work in the last 21 months, earning A grades in everything but French. His cumulative grade point average was 4.89 out of a possible 5.00.

Officials at Southern Illinois University say they have never heard of a student earning his degree in less than two full years, not at S.I.U., not anywhere. And the diploma Victor Taylor received last night in an emotional ceremony in a prison cafeteria carried the words "magna cum laude."

"There are Vic Taylors at every institution," said Dr. Walter G. Robinson Jr. of the Black American Studies program at S.I.U. in nearby Carbondale. "There is an abundance of brain power sitting out there behind these walls."

The United States Bureau

Continued on Page 60, Column 3

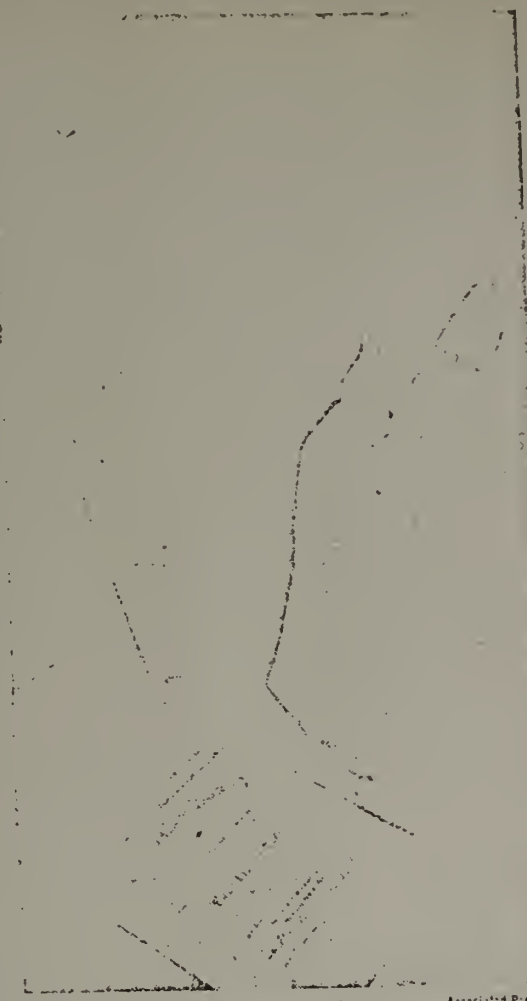
of Prisons estimates that from 6 to 10 per cent of the nation's 400,000 prisoners are currently taking some college courses. Supporters say that prison education programs have sharply reduced recidivism.

Taylor, himself a repeat offender, now wants to pursue a career in psychology, working with young blacks with disadvantaged backgrounds like his own.

"The diploma . . ." Taylor began slowly at the ceremony. "Pardon my French, but this diploma means a hell of a lot to me. I'll take credit for it. I deserve it. I paid my dues."

He glanced around the room at the brightly dressed "outsiders" who had been allowed to enter his life for a few brief hours.

"This diploma makes me feel I can do anything with my life. Everyone in this room makes me feel that way."



Associated Press

Victor Taylor with the diploma he earned, magna cum laude, while an inmate at U.S. penitentiary at Merion, Ill. At left is Roger E. Bleyer, dean of liberal arts and sciences at Southern Illinois University.

Years of Envy

The graduation was a surprising twist in the life of a man who spent many of his 25 years courting a violent death. It was not until he was sent to Marion, after two escape attempts, that he gave himself to the prison psychotherapy program that helped him.

In his talk, Taylor recalled family fights, frequent separations and constant poverty. He also recalled the torment of integrating a posh Jesuit high school in D. las, spending three years envying his classmates' convertibles while he rode public buses—and then quitting school.

He recalled how he wanted to be a Navy pilot but was disqualified because of his slight color-blindness. Feeling that the Navy had deserted him, he got a bubble-head up Navy bank at drugs and in Mexico. After four years in jail, he was paroled back to Dallas, where his peers already had college degrees.

2 Choices at Marion

Within 90 days he went on a robbing spree ("I guess I was trying to get myself killed"). The resultant jail term was so long that he tried to escape twice. The second time he was shipped to Marion, the newest Federal prison, situated among the strip mines and cornfields and a lovely forest preserve in southern Illinois—an inland Devil's Island.

When he arrived here, Taylor was "ready to do a George Jackson number," inspecting the double fences with their barbed wire in between, weighing the rumors that the guards here "shoot better than in Atlanta." Jackson, one of the California Soledad Brothers, was killed at San Quentin Prison in what the authorities said was an escape attempt.

A man can go either way in Marion. A few of the prisoners serve their time grudgingly, a constant locus of hatred on the face. Others cheerfully push themselves into top condition, like a man running barefoot on a cinder track the other day, perhaps getting himself in shape for some special effort.

In the confinement wing of the prison, several dozen prisoners mutter threats when any man walks past and would probably kill a guard given the chance, according to officials. There is enough hatred around to remind one the kind of feeling Taylor brought to Marion.

Programs Match Facilities

But Taylor began to notice other things about Marion, which was built in 1963 as a model Federal institution, with single cells for most of its 526 prisoners, sparkling facilities, a pastel cafeteria (with tablecloths on tables) and gleaming factory shop. It is possible that the worst at Marion is better than the best at many prisons.

More important, Marion had the programs that seemed to match its facilities. One was called asklepieion, a version of transactional analysis organized by Dr. Martin Groder, a disciple of Dr. Eric Berne, author of "The Games People Play."

At Dr. Groder's sessions there was "the game"—passionate confrontations when 15 men would strip down to ego of one man, staff included—for spitting coffee or lying in his teeth. Taylor said these sessions here made him want to win instead of lose the games he played.

'Permission to Win'

"I was the type of guy who always placed or showed but never won," he said. "In addition to that, almost every project that I ever undertook, I'd get very close to finishing it and then abandon it. I'd never even read a book all the way through, until I bumped into Dr. Groder. In essence, what Dr. Groder did was give me permission to win."

At first he read detective books. Then someone suggested that he take courses

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offered inside the prison by instructors from John A. Logan Junior College. He took 18 credits the first semester and 21 the second. Then he took 21 at Logan and 21 at S.I.U. in the same term, without informing officials of his double load. He got straight A's.

About this time he was converted to the Bahai faith, evolving the feeling that "black is indeed beautiful (but) no more beautiful than red, white, yellow."

He performed his regular prison duties during the day, with a bountiful supper his only meal. That was followed by sleep from 5:30 P.M. until 1 A.M., while other prisoners talked or played or listened to music. When the prison felt quiet, Taylor awoke and studied until the prison workday began all over again.

Goal Was Clear

Sometimes the load became too much. He feigned illness in order to study full time in the hospital, and was punished with a spell in the confinement block (before a quick reprieve from a concerned prison official). Around this time he broke with the encounter group, leaving some bruised feelings that are still evident. His eye was on the diploma.

Because of his escape record, Taylor has not left the prison, as many other prisoner-students are allowed to do at non-maximum-security institutions. And he was not permitted to attend the regular S.I.U. graduation earlier this month. So S.I.U. and prison officials brought the graduation to Taylor.

At 6 P.M. Friday the steel gates swung open for Dr. Walter G. Robinson Jr. and Dr. David Ehrenfreund and other officials of S.I.U., who joined Associate Warden Fred A. Frey and Superintendent of Education Glenn L. Henrickson in the cafeteria.

About two dozen people from S.I.U. were also allowed to be present—three black women from the Black American Studies Department, glowing with pride for their brother, white students who brought gaily wrapped books and embraced the man who had outstudied them all.

Holding his diploma, Taylor found that tears ran easier than words for a long time. He said he had not cried since he was 13.

"But this year I cried when my father died. I cried when I tried to tell a beautiful young woman she didn't need a lot of makeup on her to be beautiful. I cried when I pretended to be sick, so I could study. And now this. I used to have this thing that a man didn't cry. This must be my year for crying."

The friends looked—and some cried, too. Then after coffee and cake, laughs and handshakes, the guests checked out through the steel gates. Victor Taylor (B.A.: Psychology) went back to his cell.

He is not eligible for parole until 1976, and other sentences await him in other states.

...DAY, OCTOBER 2, 1972

...elon Finds Himself and Graduates With Honors

PROFESSION WITH PROMISE

By Velma Hill

Four years ago, the New York City public-school system began a program designed to reduce the enormous burden on teachers by providing them with the help of another adult, a teacher's aide who could take attendance, monitor hallways, collect lunch money and perform other tasks to free the teacher to teach.

Since the aides would not be "professionals" but would work "alongside" the professional as a "paraprofessional," they did not have to meet stringent educational requirements.

What started as a pilot project of 1,500 has now grown into a successful program employing 15,000 and what has happened to their work force in the few years since 1967 is more than a story of growth or of some improvement in New York City's public schools.

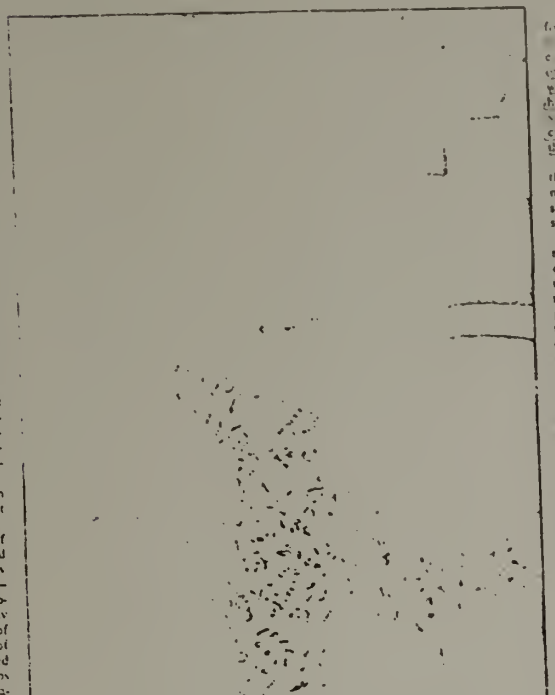
It's also a story of economic justice, of paraprofessionals who brought home only $2,000 a year in 1967 now working under a contract with a pay scale ranging from $5,500 to $7,500 a year, and with an excellent chance at career advancement, since all of the paraprofessionals are eligible for tuition-paid college and in-school-time courses programs.

And it's a story of modern union organizing—and a positive development in race relations.

Any city which has a shortage of professionals amid a growing demand for services—which is virtually every major urban center in the nation today—can benefit from paraprofessional programs. Of the paraprofessionals already at work in human-service agencies of various kinds, many are members of minority groups who would be forced onto welfare or into low-paying jobs without the opportunity to become paraprofessionals. Through the paraprofessional program they are now making vital contributions to the schools, hospitals and other institutions where they work and—no less important—to themselves as well.

Thus it's an anti-poverty program with a difference. Unlike many other anti-poverty programs, it does not pay middle-class people to "uplift" the poor, or to organize them for community action—often only a euphemism for community conflict. Rather, it pays poor people to perform essential community services and learn while they work toward the chance of becoming professionals themselves.

The program embraces the virtues of self-help and even utopia reconsidered with intelligent, humane government action. It puts the cruel lie of those who say the poor must lift themselves up by their own bootstraps to rest; the equally cruel idea that the poor will serve as the vanguard of "revolution" and achieve justice by valiantly challenging and overturning the institutions of society.



In the paraprofessional program, the poor are able to be themselves—people who want no more, and no less, than all other Americans: the opportunity to improve their lives so that they can enjoy more of the benefits of American society. And this is done through a meaningful job program. But this program itself is not enough to enable them to achieve the ultimate [illegible] they want—that is, to be fully participating members of society.

From the time it was created and now, paraprofessionals have been hired mostly from poverty areas, drawing other teachers to an essential part of the story of the paraprofessionals in the New York City schools.

Though the United Federation of Teachers, the New York City local of the American Federation of Teachers, had not originated the paraprofessional program of the "career ladder" approach to professional training, it recognized them as sound and took special interest in the new school personnel as an opportunity to strengthen the community-teacher alliance, to provide the schools with additional personnel and to further integrate the teaching staff.

For a number of other reasons, it became apparent to the union that the paraprofessionals belonged in the teacher's union. From a union point of view, the paraprofessionals were an unprotected, exploited group of workers. Their $2,500-a-year pay was about half the amount received by a family of four on welfare, and they had received no wage increase from 1967 to 1969. The city did not make adequate provision for sick leave or vacations and only minimal provision for health insurance. Job security was totally unknown. Their jobs could be cut or they could be shuffled among schools at the whim of a principal, district superintendent, or poverty agency.

The story of New York City's paraprofessional program, which, with union support, opens the door to the education profession for thousands of community residents.

And they had virtually no opportunity for [illegible] the two years a worker [illegible] to the [illegible] of the [illegible].

Besides the practical [illegible] need, the UFT also saw [illegible] them members of the same union that represented teachers and other school personnel would [illegible].

If paraprofessionals and teachers did not act together, they could cancel each other's effectiveness. But being in one union would also help build the urgently needed bridges between teachers and paraprofessionals for a concerted action to solve the educational problems of the city. Moreover, the organization of paraprofessionals came on the heels of the 1968 decentralization crisis in the New York schools, a crisis in which many people in community action and anti-poverty groups joined the school administration and city government to oppose union policies.

Because of the 1968 decentralization crisis, few "experts" thought the paraprofessionals would accept the UFT as the union to represent them. Tensions were still high in the wake of the confrontations at Ocean Hill-Brownsville and many of the same people who had attempted to expand the crisis in order to keep the paraprofessionals outside the UFT.

In one case, a community-action group which had the responsibility of referring paraprofessionals to the schools for employment threatened to fire them if they "broke confidence" with the community group. A leaflet put out by one agency said: "The Metropolitan Educational Council, which screened and referred you to your present positions is vehemently opposed to your joining the United Federation of Teachers. We are confident that you will reject this insidious effort by the UFT to control your destiny . . ."

As it turned out, such attempts amounted to a totally negative campaign which ultimately worked to the union's advantage. Also, the paraprofessionals recognized what the UFT had done for the teachers and they wanted the same benefits and protection. In the end, the UFT's victory in organizing paraprofessionals came on ballots from the three decentralization administration districts, including Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

In the two years since the paraprofessionals elected to join the UFT, the first and most significant thing to happen is a significant change in something which proved exceedingly difficult. After the UFT submitted its proposals in December 1969, it took almost five months for the Board of Education to put one item on the table.

Velma Hill is chairman of UFT Local 2's paraprofessional chapter in the New York City public schools and a newly elected vice president of the AFT.

TEACHER AIDES REALLY AID

By Nelson D. Crandall

Teachers seem to agree they can teach better when they have an aide to help in their class. But there is little evidence describing how aides assist nor is there general agreement on what their duties should be. In an attempt to secure answers to these issues, a research project was initiated at the Rancho Santa Gertrudes School in Los Nietos, Calif., to determine how teacher aides drawn from the community modify the behavior of the teacher in the classroom.

For the past four and one-half years, teachers at the Rancho Santa Gertrudes School have worked closely with teacher aides. During this period, there has been considerable assessment, planning, evaluating, and modifying of the use of aides. Definite assessment and planning was hampered by a lack of hard data on how the use of aides aided the program and modified the way teachers work with children.

As in all studies of behavior, instruments for gathering feedback on teacher and paraprofessional classroom behavior are few in number. The Teacher Self Appraisal (TSA) observation system was selected to be used in this exploration. It has recently gained prominence as an instrument of teacher self-evaluation and has tremendous potential for teacher in-service training.

The TSA system involves recording 20-minute samplings of the teacher in action on a videotape recording. As the actions and the words of the teacher are recorded, a random "beep" is superimposed on the sound track at 10-second intervals. When the tape is replayed, it is stopped each time a "beep" is heard. At this point, the teacher's behavior is coded on a TSA data-processing card.

At each "beep," the teacher's behavior is coded with regard to (1) teaching method used, (2) teacher cognitive objective, (3) teacher's affective objective, (4) teacher verbal expressions, and (5) teacher nonverbal expressions.

At the end of any 20-minute observation, there is a set of 120 TSA cards ready to be fed into the electronic data-processing equipment, which will provide the observer with 600 observations of teacher classroom behavior.

With the assistance of Daniel T. Dawson, a professor of education at the University of California (Irvine), and the enthusiastic cooperation of Dr. Wayne O. Reppen, field services director at the IDEC Evaluation Center, Tucson, the following hypotheses were formulated.

- When the aide is in the room the teacher will spend a significantly higher percentage of time engaged in the teaching act than when the aide is absent.
- When the aide is in the room, the teacher will spend a significantly higher percentage of time working with small groups than when the aide is not present.
- When the aide is in the room, the teacher will use a higher percentage of supportive verbal expressions compared to when the aide is absent.
- When the aide is in the room, the teacher will use a higher frequency of supportive nonverbal expressions, compared to when the aide is absent.
- When the aide is in the classroom, there will be a significant increase in the frequency of use of teaching methods at the higher end of the scale of structure, question and answer, demonstration, mastery, problem solving, open methods).
- When the aide is in the room, there will be an increase in the frequency of use of cognitive objectives towards the more abstract end of the scale of six (knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation).
- When the aide is in the room, there will be a significant increase in the "response" category of affective objectives on a scale of three (receive, respond, value).

The author, assisted by 10 primary teachers, recorded six videotapes of each teacher's classroom performance. Three of the tapes were recorded with the aide in the classroom, the others were made with the aide absent. After the taping was completed, the author coded the recordings utilizing the TSA observer system.

Five of the seven hypotheses were supported by data. Significant differences tend to verify some statements held by the author. For instance:

- When the aide is in the room, the teacher tends to spend a significantly greater percentage of time in small-group work; 476 minutes with an aide compared to 253 minutes when working without an aide, which yielded a significance at the <.01 level.
- Teachers working with aides do use more supportive verbal expressions than when working alone. On a scale of seven classifications of expressions (support, helping, receptive, routine, inattentive, unresponsive, disapproval) there was a marked [illegible] toward the supportive end of the [illegible] as projected on a 2x7 [illegible] to be consistent [illegible] significant at the <.01 level.
- Teachers working with an aide demonstrated even more differences between its [illegible] when working alone. To relieve from the necessity of posturing for anger, giving the evil eye, or pursuing the restraining hand on the shoulder, the teachers were much more nonverbally helping and supportive than when working alone. Chi-square treatment indicated a significance at the <.001 level.
- Teachers working with an aide do use different frequencies and ranges of methods than when working alone. They lecture and demonstrate less; they are much more likely to be giving directions to an individual child, asking questions in a problem-solving situation, and encouraging the youngster to draw his own conclusions. A chi-square value of 57+ was registered, again giving a significance in excess of [illegible].
- In the realm of level of cognition, it appears that teachers are less inclined to be superficial in their treatment of subject matter when they have the help of an aide in the room. While most teacher talk remained at the knowledge and comprehension level, there was nonetheless a measurable and significant shift toward the more abstract cognitive levels. Submitted to chi-square, a value of 79.31 was found, giving this hypothesis credence at the <.001 level.

From the inquiry, it would appear that administrators are on firm ground when installing teacher aides in the classroom. It appears from the study that aides do assist the teacher in reaching to children in a more supportive and encouraging manner. The finding of reasoning as the use of aides has been intended in the design of many compensatory-education projects on the assumption that there will be more supportive and encouraging response to children, resulting in greater achievement by the children as well as a more positive self-image. The already have research showing there is a relationship between the use of aides in the classroom and achievement scores. Several of the above indications, if not all, demonstrate ways aides contribute to increased achievement.

Of particular significance are the important changes noted in teacher nonverbal behavior. There has been an upsurge of interest by anthropologists and experts in kinesics in examining how we communicate with the whole body. Indications are that we have not given more than casual acknowledgement to the tremendous significance we attach to the "silent language." There is evidence that the actual words used constitute no more than 7 percent of the message, the balance coming through in inflection and expression.[1]

The confidence that many members of the profession have expressed in the practice of using teacher aides appears to be well founded. In this decade of "accountability" and "performance contracting," classroom teachers are going to need all the assistance they can muster if they are to meet the demands of effective [illegible] teaching. ☐

[illegible] Teacher Self-[illegible] A Tool for Global Inservice [illegible] Arizona [illegible] University of [illegible] Tucson, Ariz., [illegible]

[illegible] Julius Fast, Body Language. New York: David McKay [illegible]

[illegible] How To Read Body Language. Readers Digest, December 1970.

Nelson D. Crandall is on the staff of Rancho Santa Gertrudes School in Santa Fe Springs, Calif.

Do paraprofessionals make a difference in how a teacher teaches? A California researcher answers with an emphatic "yes!"

the school system is as hard pressed as any other social service agency, it offers an example of what far professionals may mean in other areas.

Although the idea of paraprofessionals is widespread, the applications are scattered. Undoubtedly, they will be seen in the health field, where the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare predicts a need for about $4 million people by 1975, more than double the 2.6 million actually employed in health services in 1969. And, in addition, HEW calls "allied health manpower"—such jobs as [illegible] and [illegible] nursing homes and welfare—a total of 1.4 million will be needed by 1975, compared to $13,000 at work in 1969.

Some totally new professions are emerging. "Physician's aides," mostly medical corpsmen from the armed services who receive three months of university training, then work under the supervision of a physician, have already been placed in the state of Washington and plans call for 225 to be at work in the Pacific Northwest by the end of 1971.

Undoubtedly, only the surface has been scratched. In response to a questionnaire, the mayors of 30 big cities estimated their needs in such areas as antipollution enforcement, sanitation, and police and fire departments. When those answers are projected for all U.S. cities with 100,000 or more population, the Urban Institute says that at least [illegible] immediate employment job possibilities exist in those cities alone, jobs than could be filled by the unemployed poor.

Regardless of what the future holds, the paraprofessional programs already in existence represent expansion into two vital areas of the workforce—among workers in the service sector of the economy and among low-income minority-group workers.

Under pressure from the labor movement, whose social programs call for greater public investment in human resources, programs that provide better services for the American people can grow steadily. Union organization provides these workers not only with protection of their own wages and working conditions but also equips them with the broader vision of labor's goals in the social, legislative, and political arenas.

Many, if not a majority, of the workers in these new programs will be black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican American. They are people who are now among the poorest in the society, but who can—with help—fight their way out of poverty. The fact that these workers will be making a vital contribution to schools, hospitals, [illegible] community-welfare [illegible] the white [illegible] helping them [illegible] ing of their status in securing their own interests the paraprofessionals can help everyone. ☐

Reprinted from The Federationist

Negotiations moved slowly because the Board appeared convinced that only the paraprofessionals' leadership favored the UFT and that the union would not risk calling a strike since it did not have the backing of the teachers.

For many reasons, the teachers were not strongly behind the paraprofessionals at the time the negotiations started. The major school strikes had ended only a year before and a residue of distrust remained between the teachers and many community residents, a number of whom were paraprofessionals. Many have said that the paraprofessional program was sprung on unprepared teachers and paraprofessionals who had little to adjust to each other. The Board had done nothing to prepare them to work together. The teachers had not been trained to work with more than one adult in the classroom. They didn't know how to prepare lesson plans for the new situation or to collegiate classroom responsibility.

Furthermore, they were mistakenly but understandably suspicious—with some thinking they were being given gradual professionally while paraprofessionals were assigned tasks they had previously done themselves. They took it as a sign that the school administration or the community felt they couldn't do the job. Some also feared that with more adults in the classroom, they would be assigned more pupils. In light of the strained teacher-community relations, some teachers apprehensively concluded that the paraprofessionals were community "spies" not to be trusted.

Nor did the paraprofessionals entirely trust the union. They had voted for the UFT, but many took a wait-and-see position, feeling that the union had to prove itself.

In the face of all this, the UFT conducted one of the most intensive internal education campaigns in its history. Officers, staff members, and district representatives visited schools throughout the city to discuss the possibilities—unpopular to say the least—of another UFT strike. They argued that if UFT members crossed each other's picketlines, the union could not survive. They also emphasized that if the teachers failed to support the paraprofessionals, both the union and its leadership would suffer a crippling blow.

The union also mobilized broad support for the paraprofessionals in the labor movement, in civil rights organizations, and in church, civic, and education groups. Advertisements were placed in city's major newspapers urging the Board to negotiate. Meetings brought people together from all over the city. At one of these meetings, Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council, charged that it "was shameful and hard to believe that the Board of education would drag its feet in the case of people who were making only $1,700 to $2,200 a year." As a result of these activities, pressure began to build to force the Board to negotiate.

The decisive event was a vote of the teachers. The union's delegate assembly, responding to an address by UFT President Albert Shanker, gave its support to the paraprofessionals. "We are at a crossroads for our union," Shanker told the delegates. "We are living in a city with a [illegible] situation where we must have equal support from all people. We've gain or lose this support in one act—our decision with the paraprofessionals. If we don't support our own members our contract will not be able to protect us against the hostilities incurred by our failure to live up to a grave commitment to our own members."

The teachers voted 3-1 to honor paraprofessional picketlines in the event of a strike. The real threat of a teacher walkout finally convinced the Board that it could no longer treat lightly the demands of the paraprofessionals. At this point, negotiations began to move along, and within 60 days the paraprofessionals had a new contract.

The contract nearly tripled the paraprofessionals' wages. In addition, it provided them with four weeks of paid vacation, sick leave, extended health care, complete dental and optical care for the family, and grievance procedures. The contract included a career ladder program with released time during the school year and a four-week inservice course, supplemented with a $75-a-week stipend to assist those who wanted to climb the career ladder.

But several months later, one of New York City's periodic financial crises threatened thousands of paraprofessionals with the loss of their jobs. People who had just been given hope for a better life were in danger of being thrust back. But once again, the union and, even more importantly, the coalition of which the union was a part, demonstrated its strength and commitment. An emergency committee headed by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin brought together a genuine citywide coalition to defend the rights and jobs of the paraprofessionals. The committee published newspaper ads and organized a mass demonstration, after which the funds were restored and the paraprofessionals kept their jobs.

The organization of this coalition did more than achieve its immediate objective; in the process of building support for the paraprofessionals, people who only two years before had been rival enemies were now working together. The [illegible] influenced it, but [illegible] the final outcome. The [illegible] once torn and [illegible] about [illegible].

The paraprofessional program has proven especially valuable for the school children. During the program's initial stages, the paraprofessionals had to work under extraordinarily difficult conditions—thrust into difficult classroom situations without adequate preparation. The teachers did not know how to structure classes so that the paraprofessionals could feel useful and function effectively. The deplorable wages and working conditions were additional disadvantages.

Despite these obstacles, the paraprofessionals were able to make a contribution. Besides performing the menial tasks which [illegible] Schools, they participated in reading, math and phonics and helped students with homework. Soon, they were preparing reading stories, setting up projects, acting as "[illegible] shooters" to help solve classroom problems, and communicating with parents who, more often than not, the paraprofessional also knew as a neighbor.

Today, the paraprofessionals are also working on a variety of different programs, from Open Corridor (British Infant School experiment) to Head Start, More Effective Schools, and bilingual programs. Puerto Rican paraprofessionals have been unusually effective working with Spanish-speaking children.

The presence of a paraprofessional is [illegible] appreciated when the teacher is absent and is not used as a substitute—a common occurrence in our schools. Often, in the past, a substitute who knew nothing about the class or what had been covered would end up babysitting for a day. Now the paraprofessional provides continuity of learning and authority and the effect has been noticeable.

Sally Milstein, a teacher in a Brooklyn Junior High School who has paid close attention to the development of the paraprofessional program, recently conducted a poll among her colleagues to assess the changes in their attitudes toward the paraprofessionals. She polled the teachers in her school in March, 1970, and again in April, 1971.

A comparison of the results shows the rapid growth of positive attitudes. To the question, "Would you like to see the continuation of the paraprofessional program in the school next year?," 10% percent of the teachers said "yes," compared to 69 percent 13 months before. To the question, "Do you feel there are greater opportunities for learning when both a teacher and an educational assistant are present in the classroom?," 98 percent said "yes" compared to 61 percent the year before. Finally, to the question, "Would you like to work with an educational assistant again next year?," everybody said "yes," compared to only half the teachers the year before. Moreover, 89 percent of the teachers wanted their same educational assistant back.

Teachers' attitudes weren't the only changes. Over the same period, teachers' [illegible] a drastic reduction in [illegible] criticism, and [illegible] of the positive changes in children who were individuals or in small groups with paraprofessionals. According to Milstein, these changes were happening all over the city. When asked to explain the dramatic shift in teacher attitudes, she pointed to one overriding factor—the unionization of the paraprofessionals into the same organization with the teachers. This allowed the teachers to stop regarding the paraprofessional as a threat to their jobs," she said, and "the development of an interpersonal relationship between teacher and paraprofessional became possible."

Now, rather than regarding the paraprofessionals as community "spies," the teachers [illegible] as allies who not only help [illegible] the children but who relate [illegible] to the community.

One incident I witnessed was typical of the change in attitude that had taken place in New York City. Last December I was present at a debate which had nothing to do with the UFT—the subject was women's liberation.

Of course, the subject of unions came up and, as invariably happens in New York City, one of the speakers or someone from the audience would begin to recite pieces about the "racist UFT" or the "racist Shanker." Some fellow paraprofessionals had come to the meeting with me and one of them, Rosalind Jones, rose to speak. Many people in the audience probably stereotyped her as a good militant who would repeat the usual line about the UFT, only with greater zest and bitterness.

"I used to be a domestic," she said. "I earned $50 a week and worked like a slave. It was a degrading job. Then I became a paraprofessional, joined the UFT and began to fight for a better life. Albert Shanker not only helped that fight, he led it. Now I earn a decent salary. I have paid vacations, sick leave, health insurance, and other benefits. I also study at night; some day I can get a college degree."

"My whole life has changed. You call it racism. Well, if that's racism,"—and she raised a fist clenched gently, in mock imitation of the militant salute—"then that's the kind of racism black people need."

The UFT people in the audience burst into applause. The rest sat in stunned silence. Their simplistic world of "Before black militants" and "racist union leaders," was shattered—and by someone they could not dismiss as a spokesman for "the system."

Insofar as New York City offers a study in the complexity of school problems as well as racial concentrations in modern urban centers, the experience of the paraprofessionals in the New York schools is valuable for what it may tell another city about the future. And since

University of New Haven, [illegible], Vol. [illegible], No. 3, February 1971, pp. 8, 10, 14. [illegible] University of New Haven, West Haven, Connecticut.

EXPERIMENTAL JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CLASS AT UNH A COMPLETE SUCCESS

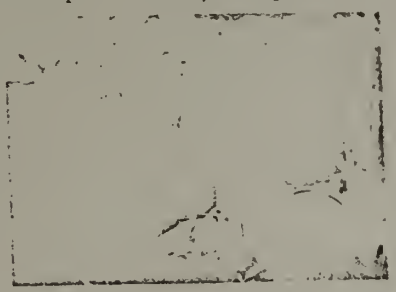
Juvenile delinquents from the Connecticut School for Boys have attended a course with policemen at the University of New Haven titled "Juvenile Delinquency — Prevention, Control, and Understanding" this past semester. The instructor, Anthony Scacco, also teaches full-time at CSB.

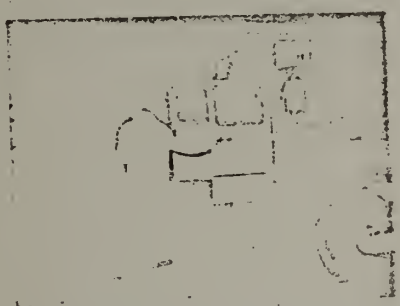
According to Scacco, "These kids have been turned off by school; now they are being shown what college is really like. It's really something when you can have a couple of black kids from the north end of New Haven come into the classroom and have the racist attitudes broken down in class."

One of the aims of the program is to place these juveniles — most of them high school dropouts — into a school situation again. However, instead of beginning with high school, the program introduces the boys directly to a college setting, thus allowing them to see the end result of becoming motivated to attend high school once more.

The prjoect was initiated last semester at UNH through the efforts of Scacco, John Conway (Chairman of the UNH Law Enforcement department), and Dr. Charles W. Dean, superintendent of the Connecticut School for Boys. The object of the program is to show the residents of CSB that someone really cares about their future by exposing them to real personalities and objectives in a real-life situation. Whereas the boys had previously viewed policemen as innately against them, and whereas the law enforcement personnel themselves thought of the boys unfavorably, the program attempts to open up communication between them. In Scacco's words, "What better way to teach policemen a college course in juvenile delinquency than to confront them with juvenile delinquents."

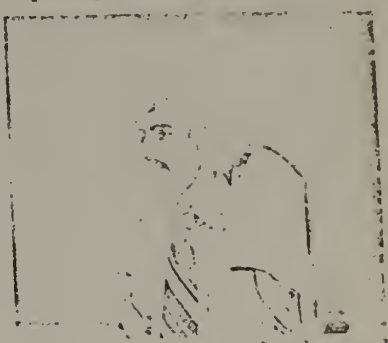
"One of the final goals of the project," Scacco continues, "was to convince law enforcement personnel to invite some of the young residents of CSB to their place of work: local jails, state police units, and police stations. Concepts such as 'young punks and pigs' can be changed. These are supposed to be kids whom parents, school, and the law could not do anything with; but the University seems to be doing something. I'm not saying we have all the answers, but it is working. And it did not take a million dollars and a whole slew of staff — just some initiative and drive. Several of the policemen are now taking some of the kids home with them for weekends."





LEFT: Instructor Anthony Scacco emphasizing a point. TOP: Three members of CSB attending the class. RIGHT: Instructor Scacco. BOTTOM: Bus unloads after arriving for class at UNH.

Understanding — one of the aims of the course itself — has been effectively fostered by having the boys sit in on the class, which was held Thursday evenings for three hours on the UNH main campus. Each week approximately twelve boys from CSB attended the class, a diferent group each time. When they arrived at UNH in the van driven by Scacco, they were free to wander around the campus, including the student center building, until class started at 7 pm. A coffee break half-way through the class provided ample opportunity for verbal confrontation between the policemen and the boys, and an effective and active dialogue continues during the second half of the class. It has even happened that those very law enforcement officers who had been involved in picking up boys in the group for various offenses — from breaking and entering to drug addiction — were taking the course in juvenile delinquency; confrontation inevitably resulted, and each came away with a better impression of the other. Stereotypes are being broken down in the course, and personalities are opened up, thus approaching a minimizing of the differences each group thought existed between them.



As a direct result of one session, two New Haven policemen, who previously had "busted" two boys in the group, drove on their own time all the way up to CSB in Meriden to see if they could do something for the boys. CSB and the University feel that the class, as evidenced by such actions and numerous others, has been very successful in providing the boys with motivation for wanting to

change. Another encouraging note has been that the sudden relative freedom the boys encounter in a college situation has resulted in no runaways (or other problems) despite some initial fears. The final proof of the program's value rests with the individuals themselves, and the fact that many boys are now regularly spending weekends at policemen's homes attests vigorously to its success.

"The purpose of juvenile rehabilitation," Scacco maintains, "is to spark young men into realizing their own value as productive human beings, while simultaneously instilling in them a respect for their fellow men. Hopefully the classes at the University have helped in making a significant beginning."

The following words are excerpts from a report submitted by a policeman who took one of the boys into his home for a weekend:

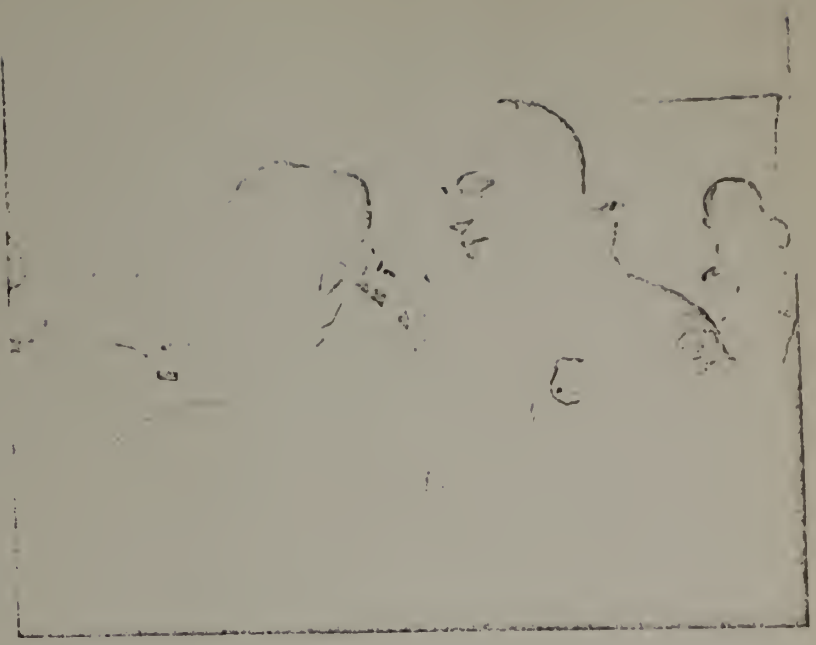
"When I first saw Johnnie and listened to him talk, I thought he was a very cold, impersonal, outspoken, and opinionated guy. I thought that he wanted to express these opinions, but he did not want to listen to other people's thoughts. When he had something to say, he said it. He would quiet his other friends from CSB down so he could express his own opinions.

"He is neat in appearance but cannot be considered impressive in his dress. After this first class was over, Johnnie and I talked about some things that had been mentioned in class. I felt he heard what I was saying but paid little attention to it. He had ideas he wanted to say and he did.

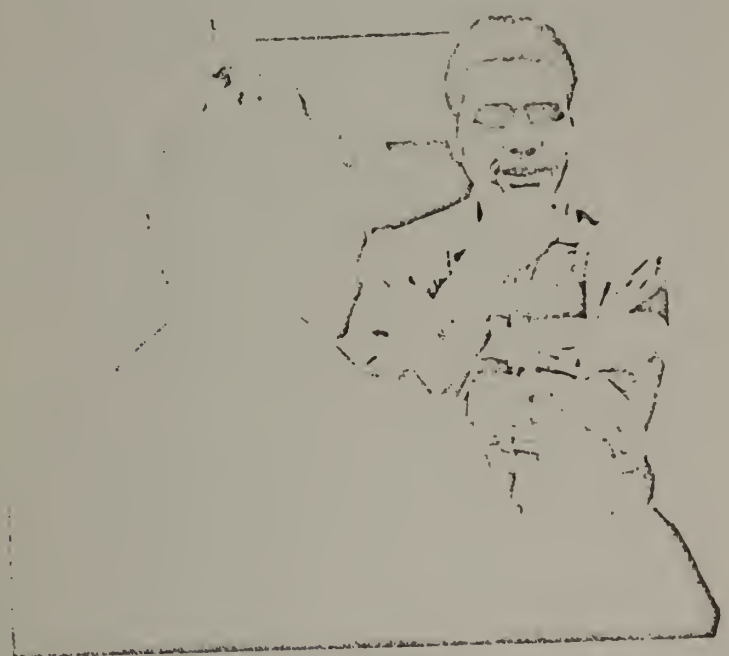
"At the second and third class meetings that we had in which he was present, I could feel a change in him for the better. I felt he was beginning to warm up to a degree to the class and the people in it. Mainly the cops — the juvenile's natural enemy.

"We talked after class about his school work, and sports. He expressed a desire to become a gym teacher but could not see himself going through all the misery of high school and college studying about "other things" besides sports. He asked if he could stay with me for the weekend. After I agreed he asked what time he had to

Continued on page 14



"What better way to teach juvenile delinquency than to bring in some of these boys," says Anthony Scacco, instructor of the Law Enforcement course. During breaks in the classes, sometimes heated but always productive confrontations developed between the boys and the policemen. According to Scacco, this is an excellent way for both groups to break down prejudicial barriers.



The class and the discussions between the two factions become so fruitful that some of the policemen even took some of the boys from CSB home for weekends with them. As a direct result of the experiment, most of the boys and policemen have come to realize that each side is not as stereotyped as they formerly supposed.

go to bed. I told him "We have a television and a refrigerator with food and he could stay up as long as he wanted" He said that he was going to stay up until 2 a.m. and watch the late movie.

"I picked Johnnie up at around 6 pm on Friday night at UNH. We stopped to get something to eat. I imagine he was a little nervous or scared in a way, because I know I was. We got home a few minutes later. We got settled and put the television on. After a while we got to talking about becoming a physical education teacher. We talked about this for a while and I showed him the requirements from my college about becoming a gym teacher. Again he showed a dislike for having to take "any" subject other than a course in sports.

"He asked about my wife not being home and I told him she had an in-service class for the whole weekend. I think he liked her because after one of your classes they had talked. My wife came home and it was close to bedtime for us, so we said good night and left. About thirty minutes later (11:30 pm) he shut the TV off and went to bed. This was 2½ hours earlier than he had told me he was going to go to bed.

"Saturday morning we went to play basketball with my team. They are all black and he was bragging on how he could play. Well, when he played he did all right but got tired easily and did not want to get back into the game. After practice we went to see the High School play a football game. I thought this hard hitting action would be something he would like, but after the first half he was bored, so we left.

"At home we had lunch and watched TV until my wife came home and then we had supper. That night we watched TV and just talked.

"We got to know each other a little better over that weekend. I saw Johnnie as a young man with some problems to overcome. I don't know how he saw me. I feel Johnnie might go back to high school and graduate if there is someone near him who will lead him onto that road."

N.Y. Times - Monday - Jan. 31 1972

Massachusetts Reforms To Doom Youth Prisons

By BILL KOVACH

Special to The N.Y. Times

AMHERST, Mass., Jan 30—Massachusetts is moving rapidly ahead with a program to abolish institutions for juvenile offenders and to replace them with community-based work and educational programs.

The program, in the formulative stages for nearly two years, is designed to, within the next six months, make this the first state to abolish all juvenile prisons.

The experiment is being closely watched by penologists and social workers around the country and has received Federal grants for its implementation.

In the last two months, three juvenile institutions—including the nation's oldest jails for boys and girls—have been closed and over 200 of the state's 800 young offenders are in community-based facilities.

According to Dr. Jerome G. Miller, commissioner of the Youth Services Department, who directs the effort, the only way to reform the penal system is to dismantle its institutions.

'Sick System' Decried

"We made a basic decision after I took this job two years ago," Dr. Miller explained, "that it would do no good to pump more money and more programs into existing systems because the system can chew up reforms faster than you can dream up new ones. It is a sick system that destroys the best efforts of everyone in it and we decided to look for alternatives."

Among other criticisms noted by Dr. Miller in his analysis of the existing juvenile penal system were:

¶Recidivism (the return to jail of former inmates) ranged from 60 to 80 per cent in the juvenile institutions.

¶Brutality was common in even the most "enlightened" institutions.

¶The per capita cost of jailing a juvenile for a year was about $10,000, or, as Dr. Miller observed, "enough to send a child to Harvard with a $100-a-week allowance, a summer vacation in Europe, and once-a-week psychotherapy."

Most of that money was required to maintain the institutions and, he decided, it could be better spent for more personal work with the youthful offender in a program designed to integrate him into the community rather than to segregate him.

A Promising Program

¶One of the most interesting and promising programs offered as an alternative to buildings and bars is a program at the University of Massachusetts campus here called Juvenile Opportunities Extension, or JOE.

Directed by Larry L. Dye, a graduate student, JOE is funded and run by the students and is part of a major effort by the students to involve themselves in community affairs. Through JOE, 100 former inmates of the now-closed juvenile prisons are paired up with student volunteers from their home community.

The juvenile and the student (called an advocate) live together in dormitories or apartments and work together to find a way to bring the juvenile back into his local community. During a month-long program, the juvenile and the student are expected to develop a living arrangement, at home if possible, and educational or employment schedule.

"In short, the student advocate is a person who will go to bat for someone who may never have had anyone to go to bat for him before," explains Mr. Dye.

Another 130 former juvenile inmates are being housed in group homes around the state, where they are directed and supervised by foster parents.

With a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Dr. Miller expects to have enough group homes in operation within six months to absorb all those juveniles now in the remaining state institutions. And, he plans to open these by "purchase of service" from private groups like the Y.M.C.A., self-help narcotics treatment centers and other existing agencies.

"We have made a study and found that because of the politics and patronage, civil service requirements and the general bureaucracy it would cost $200,000 for each home operated by the state," Dr. Miller said.

"We can buy the same service from a private organization for $65,000 and have the added benefit of being able to cut off any that we find unsatisfactory."

Political Pressure Exerted

Although his program has strong support from Gov. Francis W. Sargent, a Republican, and the Democratic Speaker of the House, David Barkley, Dr. Miller has already begun to feel political pressure against his program. Some legislators complain that he is "too liberal" or that he is "moving too far, too fast." There is also resistance from the interests that have, over the years, become vested in the maintenance and supply at the large juvenile institutions.

"None of these has yet built to the point they threaten the program," Dr. Miller says, "and we are hopeful that the record we develop and the cost savings that we will be able to show will head off any serious threat in the future."

Among those watching the program for signs of national applications is John Conrad, supervising research sociologist for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in Washington.

"I applaud the courage and general vision of this decision by Dr. Miller to irreversibly inactivate all youth corrections institutions," Mr. Conrad said. "The objectives are so important that many of us in the corrections field are very anxious to see it work. Juvenile corrections has been a revolving door affair for many years—it has been aimless and useless."

The Boldest Attempt

The Massachusetts experiment, Mr Conrad said, is the boldest attempt to change the system of juvenile corrections in the country. Washington, Minnesota and California are also experimenting with programs to eventually eliminate juvenile jails, "but no one is moving so fast as Massachusetts."

A program similar to JOE has been established for those juveniles who are paroled directly from court. Through the use of volunteers—mostly college students — 160 parolees are assigned to the students on a one-to-one basis. The volunteer spends three nights a week with his parolee and all day Saturday or Sunday. During three months of the operation only two of the juveniles have jumped parole, a figure juvenile authorities in the state say is encouraging.

The most critical part of the dismantling of the custodial system has been the planning of a program for those juveniles judged to present a danger if returned to their community. State officials estimate that there are about 30 such dangerous juveniles in the delinquent population. Plans now call for these to be kept in closed institutions.

"Eventually, however, I hope to be able to work out a program to get them into private psychiatric facilities. They all are in need of intensive care and therapy and we hope to get them where they can be worked with and, hopefully, back to their communities," Dr. Miller said.

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VITAE

Anthony M. Scacco, Jr.

PERSONAL: Age: 33, Born: June 23, 1939

EDUCATION:

1962	B.S.S.	Fairfield University, Fairfield, Connecticut
1963	M.A.	University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire
1966	Bs.Ed.	N. E. Missouri State College, Kirksville, Missouri
1967		Graduate Courses, University of Maine, Portland, Maine. Courses in: Psychological Statistics, History and Systems of Psychology, Psychology of the Exceptional Child, Psychology of Motivation.
1971	Ed.D.	Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.

EXPERIENCE:

1965 Designated Case Work: Budget analysis and fiscal control of thirty-seven accounts. Narrative reports were a major aspect of the financial statements. These were submitted to the Central State Office for final audit and approval, on a quarterly basis.

1966 Teacher--State of Maine: Taught in the Senior High Schools of Portland and Lewiston, Maine. Subject range included: History, Government and languages.

1967 South Portland Training School--Education of Young Male Offenders: Part-time instruction of Social Studies at the Correctional School provided invaluable early correctional experience with young offenders throughout the state of Maine.

Supervisor--Office of Economic Opportunity, United States Government: Supervisor-Social Director of the Cumberland County Head Start Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, State of Maine. Administrative supervisor responsible for fiscal control of the program. Assisted in the development of the first Cumberland County Financial Reporting System. Supervised workers as well as professional assistant. Assisted in the distribution of Government funds. Organized new job experience programs and conducted group guidance sessions within the department and the community.

Appointed as Administrative Assistant to the Portland Regional Opportunity Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, state of Maine: Assembly of the Federal Management Information System (M.I.S.) Collation of all fiscal information from county components of the total program and relating this data for final audit to central office in Washington, D.C. Preparation of narrative reports reflecting the financial statements. Personnel management of office staff and indigenous workers. Public involvement in seminars and addresses to increase the understanding and scope of the program.

1968 Real Estate Broker, Scarboro, Maine: Engaged as a registered broker, active in the sale of residential acreage as well as homes. Developed a computer program for the sale of commercial and industrial real estate.

1969 Department of Correction--state of Connecticut: Assisted in the formation and implementation of a Federally sponsored educational project to teach incarcerated men. Administrative responsibilities in political, educational, social and financial areas presented themselves in abundance. Physical layouts and design, replete with cost analysis, was successfully presented to inter-department administrators.

Center Director: Center Director for the first "Learn Baby Learn" complex located in the Whalley Avenue Correctional Center, New Haven, Connecticut. Education and socialization were aspects of programs offered to inmates from the elementary to secondary level, culminating in the granting of High School Equivalency Diplomas.

1970-1971 Teacher III--Department of Children and Youth Services, Connecticut School for Boys, Meriden, Connecticut: Socialization, education, and attitude alteration of young offenders, age eleven through sixteen. It was my task to begin an attitude change with these boys, and where possible, to institute some educational endeavors. The Boys School was instituting a unique behavior modification plan with the assistance of the Yale Psycho-educational Clinic.

Yale Clinic: Duties included initiation of a teaching curriculum and assimilation of the Yale Clinic Program into the cottage life schedules of the Connecticut School for Boys.

Ombudsman: Community involvement as Ombudsman which involved presentation of CSB endeavors to colleges, civic groups, law enforcement groups, and the media.

1971 to Present Sabbatical year, completion of Doctoral Dissertation. Most immediately with the Connecticut School for Boys and Adjunct Assistant Professor-Lecturer, University of New Haven, Connecticut.

PUBLICATIONS:

"Some Observations About Women and Their Role in the Field of Corrections," The American Journal of Correction, March-April, 1972.

IN PREPARATION:

Prison Poetry, compilation of poetry, articles, letters of the inmates of the training schools, jails, and reformatories.

"Probation the New Teacher," for Federal Probation, Washington, D.C.

"Preliminary Profile," a brief look at the offender. For the American Journal of Correction.

The Corrections Officer--Fact or Fiction, for The American Journal of Correction.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

American Society of Criminology
American Correctional Association